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ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE,

INTRODUCTORY TO

USEFUL BOOKS IN THE PRINCIPAL BRANCHES

OF

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

DESIGNED CHIEFLY FOR THE JUNIOR STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES, AND THE HIGHER CLASSES IN SCHOOLS.

BY HENRY KETT, B. D.
FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOL. I.

BALTIMORE:
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1812.

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PREFACE.

THE following work contains the substance of a Course of Lectures, which I have occasionally read to my pupils, during the last twelve years. The satisfaction which they expressed on hearing them has encouraged me to hope, that they will not prove unacceptable to those, for whose use they are now made public.

To assert a claim to originality in such a work as this would perhaps only be equivalent to a confession of its demerit. My pretensions to public regard must depend in no small degree upon the manner in which I have clothed old ideas in a new dress, and upon my skill in compressing within a moderate compass the substance of large and voluminous works. Upon all my subjects I have endeavoured to reflect light from every quarter which my reading would afford. My references will show the sources from which I have derived my principal information; but it would be almost an endless, and perhaps a very ostentatious task, to enumerate all my literary obligations.

There are a few topics indeed, with respect to which I think I may be allowed to assert some claims to novelty. For many of my remarks on *the Greek Language* I am indebted principally to my own observations upon its nature and comparative merits; the *History of Chivalry*, important as the influence of that remarkable institution has been upon manners, is a subject upon which I have not been able to collect much information from English authors; and the *History of the Revival of Classical Learning*, although a topic of the strongest interest to every man of letters, has never been fully treated by any writer, with whose works I am acquainted.

Many of my *Quotations* are selected from such works, as, either from their size, number of volumes,

or scarceness, do not frequently come within the reach of young men. If some of them are borrowed from more obvious and popular works, their peculiar beauty, strength, and appositeness, it is presumed, will justify their introduction. But elegant as my quotations may be in point of style, conclusive as to reasoning, or striking as to the impression they are calculated to make; they will not completely answer the intended purpose, if, while they raise a high opinion of the merit of their authors, they do not excite an eager curiosity to peruse more of their works.

If I should be fortunate enough to succeed in procuring for eminent writers any additional degree of regard; if I should excite a more ardent and more active attention to any branches of useful knowledge; and if the variety of my topics should contribute to diffuse more widely the light of general information and useful truth; I shall have the satisfaction to reflect that my time has not been sacrificed to a frivolous purpose by thus endeavouring, in conformity with the occupations of the most valuable portion of my life, to instruct the rising generation.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 12, 1802.

ADVERTISMENT

TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

The increasing demand for my work calls upon me for adequate endeavours to merit the public approbation. I have therefore revised the whole, and made some useful alterations and additions.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,
May 20, 1803.

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Levia quidem hæc, et parvi forte si per se spectentur momenti; sed EX ELEMENTIS constant, ex principiis oriuntur omnia; et ex judicii consuetudine in rebus minutis adhibita, pendet sæpissimè etiam in maximis vera atque accurata Scientia.

CLARKE PRAEF. IN ILIAD.

TO separate some of the most useful and the most beautiful parts from the great mass of human knowledge; to arrange them in such regular order, that they may be inspected with ease, and varied at pleasure; and to recommend them to the careful examination of young men who are studiously disposed, constitute the design of the author of this work.

It is likewise his object to make the most useful topics of literature familiar and easy to general readers, who have not had the advantage of a learned education.

The more he reflects upon the PRESENT STATE OF SOCIETY, the VARIOUS FACULTIES of the mind, and the GREAT ADVANTAGES which arise from acquiring an AMPLE FUND OF VALUABLE IDEAS, the more he is convinced of the utility of engaging in the pursuit of general knowledge, *as far as may be consistent with professional views, and particular situations in life.*

The custom has prevailed of late years, much more than it did formerly, of introducing young men at an early age into the mixed company of persons older than themselves. As such is the reigning mode, they ought to be prepared in some degree at least to blend manly and serious topics with the sallies of light and gay conversation. And, in order to be qualified for the introduction of such subjects, it seems requisite to unite to the study of the learned languages other attainments, which have a reference to the sciences, the works of nature, and the affairs of active life.

The improvements of the times have turned the attention of the learned to new pursuits, and given their conduct a new direction. The scholar, no longer confined within the walls of a College, as was formerly the case, now mixes in general society, and adapts his studies to an enlarged sphere of observation: he does not limit his reading to the works of the

ancients, or to his professional researches alone; but shows his proficiency in the various parts of literature, which are interesting to the world at large.

The condition of social intercourse among those who have had the advantages of a liberal education, is at present so happily improved, that a free communication subsists between all intelligent and well-informed men. The Divine, the Physician, the Barrister, the Artist, and the Merchant, associate without reserve, and augment the pleasure they derive from conversation, in proportion as they obtain an insight into various pursuits and occupations. The more ideas they acquire in common, the sooner their prejudices are removed, a more perfect congeniality of opinion prevails, they rise higher in each other's estimation, and the pleasure of society is ripened into the sentiments of attachment and friendship. In such parties, where the "feast of reason and the flow of soul" prevail with the happiest effect, he who unites to knowledge of the world, the leading ideas and rational principles which well-chosen books can supply, will render himself the most acceptable, and the most valuable companion.

Such are now the abundant productions of the press, that books written in our own language upon all subjects whatever are constantly published, and quickly circulate through the whole kingdom. This circumstance has lessened that wide and very evident distinction, which in former times prevailed between the learned and the unlearned classes of the community. At present, they who have not enjoyed the benefit of a classical education may reap many of the fruits of learning without the labour of cultivation, as translations furnish them with convenient and easy expedients, which can in some measure, although an incomplete one, make amends for their ignorance of the original authors. And upon all subjects of general Literature, Science, and Taste, in their actual and most highly improved state, they have the same means of information in their power with those who have been regularly educated in the Universities, and the public schools.

Thus favourable are the temper and the circumstances of the times to the diffusion of knowledge. And if the most mature and deliberate decisions of reflection and experience be required to give weight to the opinion, that comprehensive views of learning and science are calculated to produce the best effects upon the mind, reference can be made to both ancient and modern authorities—to writers of no less eminence than Quintilian, Milton, and Locke. Their observations tend to prove, that close attention to a profession-

al study is an affair of the first importance, but that invariable and exclusive application to any one pursuit is the certain mark of a contracted education. For hence the student is led to form a dislike to occupations dissimilar to his own, and to entertain prejudices against those who exercise them. He is liable to view mankind and their employments through a wrong and a discoloured medium, and to make imperfect, if not false estimates of their use and value. In order to prevent such contractedness of disposition, and such errors of judgment, what method can be more efficacious, than to open some of the gates of general knowledge, and display its most beautiful prospects to his view?

Such prospects, distinctly and deliberately surveyed, will produce the most beneficial effects upon his temper and opinions. While they place before him the means of increasing his information, they will render him a more correct judge of its value, and secure him from conceit, affectation, and pedantry. They will render him more capable of appreciating the relative importance and comparative merit of different studies, when referred to the use and ornament of life. He will discern the natural affinity which subsists between the different branches of polite literature, and how capable they are of increasing the influence, and improving the beauties of each other. In short, various pursuits, skilfully chosen and assiduously followed, can give proper activity to every faculty of the mind, inasmuch as they engage the judgment, the memory, and the imagination, in an agreeable exercise, and are associated for one beneficial purpose—like the genial drops of rain, which descend from heaven, they unite in one common stream to strengthen and enlarge the current of knowledge.

By studies thus diversified the mind is supplied with copious materials for the serious reflexions of retirement, or the lively intercourse of society; it is enabled, by the combination of many particular ideas, to form those general principles, which it is always eager to embrace, which are of great use in the conduct of life, and may prove in every situation pleasing and advantageous. In short, such a plan is calculated to disseminate that knowledge, which is adapted to the present improved state of society, to divest learning of pedantry, and to afford the scholar some insight into the researches of the philosopher, the occupations of the man of business, and the pleasures of the man of taste.

And as the arts and sciences bestow mutual assistance, and reflect mutual light, so are they highly efficacious and bene-

them was preserved, the knowledge of the true God; while all other nations were sunk in the most abject superstition, and disgraced by the grossest idolatry.

The writers of GREECE and ROME have recorded such numerous and such eminent instances of the genius, valour, and wisdom of their countrymen, as have been the just subjects of admiration for all succeeding ages; for which reason the accounts of THEIR MEMORABLE TRANSACTIONS ought to be carefully inspected before we proceed to survey the HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE, and OF OUR NATIVE COUNTRY.

As reason is the noblest faculty of the human mind, it is of the highest importance to consider its proper employment, more especially as upon its co-operation with religion in controlling the flights of the imagination, and abating the violence of the passions, depends the happiness of life. That system of LOGIC, therefore, which consists not in abstruse terms, or argumentative subtlety, but in the manly exercise of the rational powers, justly claims an important place in every system of education.

The various discoveries and improvements in SCIENCE and PHILOSOPHY constitute a peculiar distinction between ancient and modern times. Problems of science, like the arguments of logic, employ the mind in the most vigorous exercise of its powers, and confirm the habits of close application, which are essentially necessary in the prosecution of every kind of study. Such are the reasons for introducing and recommending due attention to the principles of the MATHEMATICS.

The human mind, not content with speculations upon the properties of matter alone, delights to survey the wonderful works of the GREAT CREATOR, as displayed in the various parts of the universe. This employment is a source of never-failing satisfaction to persons of every age. The productions of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms are closely connected with the well-being, and are conducive to the subsistence of man; so that NATURAL HISTORY claims his particular attention.

And as the elegant Arts possess a pleasing influence over the imagination, and furnish a constant variety of amusement and pleasure, it is highly desirable to examine the principles, and consider the application of a refined and correct taste to the beauties of PAINTING, POETRY, and MUSIC.

In the welfare and prosperity of his native country every Briton is deeply interested. The two great sources of its support, its opulence, and its glory, are AGRICULTURE and

COMMERCE; to have a knowledge of their leading principles must be allowed to be singularly useful to an English gentleman.

Since it is a prevailing fashion, particularly among the higher ranks of society, to complete the course of education by visiting foreign countries, it is useful to ascertain the advantages, which may be derived from the practice of TRAVELLING.

As attainments derive their greatest value from being directed to the purposes of active life, the qualifications requisite for a right conduct in the learned professions of LAW, PHYSIC, and DIVINITY, are taken into consideration.

And lastly, to point out the sources, from which the reader may draw more complete information upon all the preceding subjects, the work is closed with lists of THE MOST APPROVED AND INSTRUCTIVE BOOKS.

The *order* in which my *chapters* are disposed, is adapted to the progress of the faculties of the mind, from childhood to riper years. The principles of religion, of language, and of history, are first presented to my readers; and the elements of science, natural history, and taste, together with the various studies, which relate to the active scenes of life, close the volumes of knowledge. The foundation of the building is deeply laid, and composed of the most solid materials; the superstructure, raised to a proper elevation, displays ornament, while it is adapted to convenience.

Such is the sketch of my design, in which it is intended to trace the regular progress of application, from puerile to manly studies—from elementary knowledge to professional duties. It is sufficiently finished to shew, that the fields of instruction are not only fertile, but the most various in their productions. Some spots bring forth the immortal fruits of religion, some the hardy plants of science, and some the delicate flowers of taste. Here then the active temper of youth, and their fondness for change, may find ample means of gratification, wherever they choose to wander and expatiate. Light pursuits may divert, after severe studies have fatigued the mind; and he who has been diligent to peruse the records of history, to solve the problems of science, or ascertain the distinctions of logic, may find an agreeable relaxation in surveying the beauties of nature, charming his ear with the delightful strains of music, pleasing his eye with the fair creations of the pencil, or delighting his fancy with the fictions of poetry.

I consider myself as assuming the office of a guide to the

youthful and inexperienced traveller, and as undertaking to point out the interesting prospects of a charming country, without aspiring to the accuracy of a topographer, or the diligence of an antiquarian. I shall conduct him, who commits himself to my directions, from a low and narrow valley, where his views have been closely confined, to the summit of a lofty mountain :—when he has reached the proper point of view, he will feel his faculties expand, he will breathe a purer air, enjoy a wider horizon, and observe woods, lakes, mountains, plains, and rivers, spreading beneath his feet in a delightful prospect. From this commanding eminence, I shall point out such places as are most deserving his researches; and finally, I shall recommend him to those, who will prove more instructive, and more pleasing companions, through the remaining part of his journey.

CLASS THE FIRST.

RELIGION.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

THE seeds of religious knowledge are implanted in our minds during the earliest period of our lives. The notions of Providence, and the various duties which we owe both to God and to mankind, are inculcated long before our judgments are sufficiently matured to determine the reasonableness, or estimate the utility, of moral and religious truth.

That the conduct of the instructors of children, in thus taking advantage of the curiosity and the pliability of the infant mind, is not the result of superstition and credulity, but of good sense, and a proper regard to its best interests, and most valuable improvement, will appear, when the power of judgment is sufficiently strengthened by time to enable a young man to examine those principles, which he has been taught from his early years to hold venerable and sacred.

To inquire on what account Christianity claims an ascendency over all other branches of knowledge, and what are the particular grounds upon which he believes it to be a divine Revelation, is a duty which he owes equally to his own reason, and to the dignity and importance of the subject itself.

"Revelation claims to be the voice of God, and our obligation to attend to his voice is surely moral in all cases. And as it is insisted that its evidence is conclusive, upon thorough consideration of it; so it offers itself to us with manifest obvious appearances of having something more than human in it, and therefore in all reason requires to have its claims most seriously examined into." Butler's Analogy, p. 401.

Such an examination, conducted with that degree of care and attention, becoming the infinite importance of the subject, will clearly prove that the Christian Religion constitutes the most useful and the most transcendant part of our knowledge. It introduces us to an acquaintance with those subjects, which are in the highest degree desirable to be known; as it opens the clearest prospect, that man in his present state can survey, of that Being, who is the essence of all perfection, the centre of infinite excellence, and the fountain of inexhaustible wisdom, goodness, and power. The knowledge of created beings is low and trivial when compared to this; for however admirable they may be in their construction, however useful in their nature and properties, and however stupendous in their frame and magnitude, they are still but faint shadows and imperfect images of the glory of their Creator. The instruction, which the Christian Religion conveys, is not only of the most excellent kind, but its acquisition is above all things to be desired, especially when we consider the Almighty, with respect to the wonders of his power, and the dispensation of his Providence—when we view him by the clear light of the Christian Revelation, not only as the Maker and Governor of the universe, but as the Father of the Saviour of the world, whom he commissioned to proclaim his divine will, to establish the certainty of a future state, and to propose everlasting happiness to mankind, on condition of faith in a Redeemer, and obedience to his commands.

To know Christianity is therefore both to understand what the Supreme Being has revealed for our greatest good, and to ascertain what conduct we ought to pursue in order to obtain his approbation and favour. How low therefore must the acquirements of learning and science sink in our opinion,

when placed in opposition to religious knowledge! But when it forms the basis, upon which they are built, they derive additional value as well as stability from its support; they are consecrated to the best purposes, and directed to their most salutary ends. Much as the knowledge of the scholar, and the speculations of the philosopher may elevate and enlarge the mind, and much as they may improve and adorn it, they extend not our prospects beyond the world, they bound our views within the narrow limits of human life. But the knowledge of a Christian takes a more exalted and a more certain aim; it respects a degree of felicity, which exceeds our utmost powers of conception, and a situation of pleasure and delight without alloy, and without end.—It relates to a state of existence, when the spirits of the just will be made perfect, and the transcendent bliss of angels will be imparted to glorified and immortal man.

Such being the excellence of Christianity, and such the important end, which it proposes, every person, who desires to be fully acquainted with divine truth, and to build his happiness upon the most solid basis, will take, with the greatest satisfaction, a particular and distinct view of its nature and evidences. Then will he avoid the imputation of being a Christian merely in compliance with the prejudices of his parents, or the customs of his native country; and he will become one in consequence of a rational preference, and a proper examination.* His conviction of its truth will then be solid and clear; he will plainly perceive the strength of its foundations, and fully understand the extent of its advantages: he will be persuaded that it bears the character and

* "Were a man designed only, like a flie, to buzz about here for a time, sucking in the air, and licking the dew, then soon to vanish back into nothing, or be transformed into worms; how sorry and despicable a thing were he? And such, without religion, we should be. But it supplieth us with business of a most worthy nature, and lofty importance; it setteth us upon doing things great and noble as can be; it engageth us to free our minds from all fond conceits, and cleanse our hearts from all corrupt affections; to curb our brutish appetites, to tame our wild passions, to correct our perverse inclinations, to conform the dispositions of our Soul and the actions of our life to the eternal laws of righteousness and goodness: it putteth us upon the imitation of God, and aiming at the resemblance of his perfections; upon obtaining a friendship, and maintaining a correspondence with the High and Holy One; upon fitting our minds for conversation and society with the wisest and purest spirits above; upon providing for an immortal state; upon the acquist of joy and glory everlasting." Barrow's Sermons, vol. I. serm. iii. p. 36

The happy effects that result from early religious instruction are described with his accustomed eloquence, by Dr. Parr, in his Discourse on Education. See p. 13, &c.

stamp of *divinity*, and that it has every claim to the reception of mankind, which a divine Revelation can *reasonably* be expected to possess.

The proofs of the truth of the Christian Revelation are numerous, clear, and conclusive. The most obvious and striking are those which arise; I. From the AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. II. THE CHARACTER OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR. III. THE PROPHECIES of which he was the subject, as well as those which he delivered. IV. HIS MIRACLES. V. THE SUBLIME MORALITY OF HIS PRECEPTS. And, VI. THE RAPID AND EXTENSIVE PROPAGATION OF HIS RELIGION under circumstances the most hostile to its advancement.

I. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament is the source, from which the knowledge of the Christian system is derived. That the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were written by St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, neither Gentiles nor Jews have ever been so hardy as to deny. The second Epistle of St. Peter indeed, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, the two Epistles of St. John, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation of St. John, were not received at first by all the congregations of Christians. As soon however as their authenticity was made known, they were admitted into the Canon of Scripture. That the Gospels are the same in every article of the smallest importance, as they were when first published by their respective authors, there can be no doubt; as they have been preserved through every successive age with the greatest care. From the time of the Apostles to the present hour, even those sects of Christians, that have been most at variance upon other points, have concurred in guarding them with equal diligence, and have held them in equal veneration. The proofs of their genuineness are more numerous than can be adduced in favour of any other ancient writings. Every relation of a fact is marked by the most exact detail of names, persons, times, and places, that can in any degree throw light upon the subject, and establish its truth. The history, the manners, and the opinions of the times, as they may be collected from all other accounts, harmonize with the narratives of the sacred Writers, and corroborate their general veracity. The Evangelists were placed in situations the most favourable for obtaining complete and

authentic information. St. Matthew and St. John, two of the disciples of our Lord, heard his divine instructions from his own mouth, beheld his astonishing miracles, and attended him during the whole course of his ministry. They drew their accounts from an intimate knowledge of persons, and a lively recollection of facts. St. Mark and St. Luke are entitled to all the credit of contemporary Biographers, as they were enabled to trace the truth to its source, in consequence of living in habits of the closest intimacy with those who had seen and conversed with our Lord. Few of those historians, whose works we most esteem, and whose fidelity we most respect, were so nearly connected with the subject of their writings, or possessed such ample means of genuine information. Any *one* of the Evangelists was perfectly well qualified to record the History of Christ, and to satisfy us as to its truth upon his own credit only; and *all* of them taken together, and combining their accumulated strength, form a body of evidence sufficient to remove the scruples of every candid mind, and to establish the truth upon a solid and lasting foundation.

We may assert with the most perfect confidence and truth, that so far from there being any traces extant of a History of Christ and his followers, contradictory to that of the Evangelists, there is not a contemporary, or a subsequent writer, whether Jewish or Pagan, who adverts to the subject at all, who does not *confirm* the leading facts of the Gospel History.

The New Testament likewise contains Epistles written by the holy persons who were engaged in preaching the Gospel immediately after the ascension of their divine Master. These Epistles refer continually to the original facts contained in the Gospels, and confirm their truth. A perfect harmony of design is evident both in the one and the other. They prescribe the same rule of faith. They inculcate the same articles to be believed, and the same precepts to be obeyed. They contain many striking references to the labours, which* St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, underwent; and the peculiar energy and earnestness, with which he addressed his converts, have all the marks of seriousness and sincerity, which can give to any writings whatever the stamp of originality.† All these Epistles, when taken together, are not to

* See the animated and affecting description of his sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. &c.

† The proofs of the genuineness of his Epistles deduced from remarkable coincidences, and close though not studied connection with the

considered as composing a single evidence only, but as containing distinct and independent attestations of the truth of Christianity; for it is evident from their contents, that they were written by different persons, at various times, and upon various occasions. Even the little circumstances in which they differ from each other have their use, as they tend to prove that there was no plan preconcerted by the writers, with a view to excite wonder, and obtain credit by any studied uniformity of representation.

He who peruses the Gospels and Epistles with attention, must be struck by a *remarkable peculiarity* of narrative and argument, which runs through every part of them. There is no appearance of artifice or duplicity in the sacred Writers; no endeavour to raise the reputation of friends, or depreciate the characters of enemies. There is no effort made to reconcile the mind of the reader to what is marvellous in their narrative; no studied attempt to fire his imagination, or rouse his passions in their cause. All is fair, temperate, and candid. Vain, it is true, were the search for those ornaments which distinguish the classical writers; but still in their works there is frequently a pleasing simplicity, and sometimes a sublimity of expression, although these beauties seem rather to rise naturally out of the subject, than to result from the labour of composition, or any choice or arrangement of words. One circumstance there is, in which the New Testament rises to an elevation, which no other book can reach. Here presides the majesty of *pure and unsullied truth*, which shines in unadorned but awful state, and never turns aside to the blandishments of flattery, or listens to the whispers of prejudice, or defamation. Here alone she invariably supports the same dignified and uniform character, and points with equal impartiality to Peter now professing his unalterable fidelity, and now denying his Lord;—to the Apostles at one time deserting Christ, and at another, hazarding their lives by the bold profession of his Gospel. And these plain characters of truth afford the clearest evidence of the inspiration of the sacred books. The Holy Spirit, whose assistance was promised to his disciples by their heavenly Master, guarded them from

Gospel History, as well as from allusions to particular incidents, persons, times, and places, are stated by Dr. Paley, with great precision and clearness. See more particularly his Horæ Paulinæ p. 11, 14, 34, 169, 216, 312. A new argument in favour of the Epistles is drawn from the erroneous subscriptions to six of them, p. 380. He concludes with a short view of the external Evidence, p. 386, 403. And gives some striking remarks on the Talents, Character, and Conduct of St. Paul, p. 411.

error in their narratives, in the statement of their precepts, and the developement of their doctrines. Upon such momentous points, as contribute to form an infallible rule and standard of faith and practice, they were guided by the divine wisdom, and thus are raised to a degree of authority and credibility unattainable by all other writers.*

"It doth not appear, that ever it came into the mind of these writers, how this or the other action would appear to mankind, or what objections might be raised upon them. But without at all attending to this, they lay the facts before you, at no pains to think, whether they would appear credible or not. If the reader will not believe their testimony, there is no help for it: they tell the truth, and attend to nothing else. Surely this looks like sincerity, and that they published nothing to the world, but what they believed themselves." Duchal, quoted by Paley, vol. ii. p. 182.

An inquiry into the authenticity of the books of the New Testament is of great importance. If they are as ancient as they are reputed to be; if they were certainly written by the persons to whom they are ascribed, and have all the requisite characters of genuineness, we may venture to assert with confidence, that the facts contained in them are undeniably and substantially true. For supposing such actions as have been attributed to Christ never to have been performed, so great must have been the effrontry, as well as the ingenuity of the fabricators of this imposture, if they proceeded to publish as true what they knew to be false, as to exceed the bounds of belief; and if, even for the sake of argument only, we suppose them to have combined in a confederacy for such a purpose, what would have been the consequence? They would only have given the desired advantage to their acute, active, and implacable enemies, who would quickly have detected the falsehood, sacrificed the abettors of it to their just indignation, and stigmatized the Christian Religion for ever as an imposture and a fable.

In the preservation of the New Testament, we may observe a very striking instance of the superintendance of divine Providence, ever watchful for the happiness of mankind. Notwithstanding the various dissentions which have continued to prevail in the Christian Church, ever since its first establishment, the Books containing the principles of the Religion itself, are come down to us who live at the distance of nearly eighteen centuries from the time of their Authors,

* See Gibson's Pastoral Letters in the Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. iv. p. 235.

in a pure and unadulterated condition: so that whenever the Christian faith has been corrupted, its deviation from a state of purity could always be detected by an appeal to the most indisputable authority. Nor has the stream of time merely conveyed to us this divine treasure, uninjured and secure; but even in the midst of the most violent persecutions, and the darkest superstition, the Christian faith has been so protected by divine care, that it has never been wholly lost to the world. The spark of heavenly fire, although it has been covered by the ashes of Error, has still remained alive, and although in the obscure ages, previous to the Reformation, its light could be with difficulty discerned, yet it was always accessible to those, who wished to fan it into a flame.

II. The Character of our Lord.

This character, as represented in the plain and energetic narratives of the Evangelists, is marked by qualities the most extraordinary, and the most transcendent. Every description of every other personage, whether embellished by the fancy of the poet, or pourtrayed by the accuracy of the historian, leaves it evidently without an equal, in the annals of mankind.

If the conduct of those who bear a resemblance to Christ as the founders of religious establishments be examined, these assertions will receive the fullest confirmation. They all accommodated their plans to human policy, and private interest—to existing tenets of superstition, and to prevailing habits of life. The Christian Lawgiver, more sublime in his object, and more pure in his motives, aimed at no recommendation of his precepts by courting the prejudices, or flattering the passions of mankind. The institutions of Numa the second king of the Romans, of Brama the Lawgiver of the various tribes of India, and of Confucius the great philosopher of China, were evidently adapted to the existing habits, and prevailing inclinations of their people. They seem indeed to have been founded altogether upon them. Mahomet, the great impostor of Arabia, accommodated the rules of his Koran, and the rewards of his paradise, to the manners and desires of a warlike and a sensual people. In his character and conduct he presented a striking contrast to Christ. Ambition and lust were the reigning passions of his soul. He maintained, that he received his Koran from heaven: but its frivolous and absurd contents sufficiently indicate the falsehood of his pretensions. With a degree of effrontery still more impious, he pleaded a divine authority

for the boundless gratification of his sensuality: and unable to appeal to miracles, which give the most certain proofs of a teacher sent from God, he extended his faith by force, and reared his bloody crescent amid captives, who were the victims of his passions, and cities that were desolated by his sword.*

In the character of Christ we behold the most complete and prompt resignation to the will of God. So pure and so perfect was the whole tenor of his conduct, as to defy calumny, although it excited jealousy, and inflamed malice. His most bitter and inveterate enemies, even when suborned to be his public accusers, could not make good a single charge against his moral character. He was equally free from the ambition of an impostor, and the infatuation of an enthusiast; for when the people sought to place the crown of Israel on

* "Mahometanism is a borrowed system, made up for the most part of Judaism, and Christianity, and, if it be considered in the most favourable view, might possibly be accounted a sort of Christian heresy. If the Gospel had never been preached, it may be questioned whether Mahometanism would have existed. Its author was an ignorant knave and a fanatic, who had neither skill nor genius to form a religion out of his own head." Jortin's Sermon's, vol. vii. p. 369.

See Paley's Evidences, vol. iii. p. 70, sect. ii. Taylor's Moral Demonstrations, vol ii. p. 383, and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet.

The contrast between our Lord and the Prophet of Arabia is drawn in a style of such rich and appropriate eloquence by Sherlock, that I cannot deny myself the pleasure of presenting it to my readers.

"Make the appeal to natural religion, or, which is the same thing, to the reason of man. Set before her Mahomet, and his disciples, arrayed in armour and in blood, riding in triumph over the spoils of thousands and tens of thousands, who fell by his victorious sword. Shew her the cities which he set in flames, the countries which he ravaged and destroyed, and the miserable distress of all the inhabitants of the earth. When she has viewed him in this scene, carry her into his retirements; shew her the prophet's chamber, his wives and concubines; let her see his adulteries, and hear him allege revelation and his divine commission to justify his lust and oppression. When she is tired with this scene, then shew her the blessed Jesus, humble and meek; doing good to all the souls of men, patiently instructing both the ignorant and perverse. Let her see him in his most retired privacies; let her follow him to the mount, and hear his devotions and supplications to God. Carry her to his table, to view his poor fare, and hear his heavenly discourse. Let her see him injured, but not provoked. Let her attend him to the tribunal, and consider the patience with which he endured the scoffs and reproaches of his enemies. Lead her to the cross, and let her view him in the agonies of death, and hear his last prayer for his persecutors; *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!*—When natural religion hath viewed both, ask her, which is the prophet of God?—But her answer, we have already heard, when she saw part of this scene through the eyes of the centurion who attended at the cross; by him she spoke and said, *Truly this was the Son of God.*" Sherlock's Ninth Discourse, vol. i.

his head, he conveyed himself away by a miracle. Whenever he condescended to discourse upon any important point, or to answer any objections of his adversaries, he overcame their opposition with the irresistible power of truth, and his words were the words of unerring wisdom. Upon all occasions he displayed the soundness and moderation of c lm judgment, and the steadiness of heroic intrepidity. There was no wild enthusiasm in his devotions, no rigid austerity in his conduct, no frivolous subtlety or intemperate vehemence in his arguments. Of all the virtues, which adorned his mind, and gave a resistless grace and loveliness to every action of his life, humility, patience, and the most ardent and universal love of mankind, were, upon every occasion, predominant. The perfect benevolence of his character, indeed, is fully evinced by the tendency of his miracles, which, far from being prejudicial and vindictive, were directed to some beneficial end. His courage was equally remote from ostentation and from rashness, and his meekness and condescension never make him appear abject. Tried by the greatest afflictions of life, assailed by hunger, exposed to poverty, deserted by his friends, and condemned to suffer an ignominious death, he is never degraded; the greatness of his character is in no respect diminished—he preserves the same air of mildness and dignity, and appears in the same highly venerable light as the Saviour of the world, who submits to an ignoble station, and conceals his majesty in an humble garb, for the most important purposes. It is thus the glorious prospects of nature are sometimes enveloped in the mists of the morning; or the great luminary of day is deprived of his beams and his brightness, by the temporary darkness of an eclipse.

And here let us pause to admire the *manner* in which this most sublime of all characters is introduced to us. We are not left to form an idea of it from vague accounts or loose panegyric, but from actions and events; and this circumstance proves undeniably the veracity of the Biographers of our Lord. The qualities of his mind are displayed by a detail of actions, the more striking as they are more exact. All his actions are left to recommend themselves by their own intrinsic merit, to captivate by their unaffected beauty, and to shine by their native lustre. The Evangelists have no where professedly drawn an elaborate or highly finished character of the Saviour of the world. We are not told in a vague and indefinite manner, that he was eminently bountiful, compassionate, or wise. It is no where expressed i

proved to demonstration, that he was the promised Messiah of the Jews, the Mediator of a new covenant between God and man, and a divine Teacher sent to reform and save a guilty world.

III. The Prophecies.

The Old Testament contains a long series of predictions, which are expressed with greater distinctness, and marked with a more striking and appropriate reference to a particular train of events, in proportion as the prophets approached more nearly to the time of the Messiah. As he was the great object of the general expectation of the Jews, so was he the great end of the Prophecies. Sometimes he is pourtrayed as the innocent, patient, and unrepining sufferer, pierced with grief, and sinking under unmerited calamity for the sake of mankind; *He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, who hath borne our sorrows, and was wounded for our transgressions* (Isaiah liii.); and sometimes, with all the fervour and vivid colours of Oriental poetry, are described his temporal grandeur, the transcendent attributes of his divine character, and the glory and eternity of his kingdom. *His name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace* (Isaiah ix, 6.). These surprising intimations that occur in the Prophets of various ages, like rays of light proceeding from different quarters, all meet in the same point, and illuminate the same object. Here is none of that latitude of interpretation, or ambiguity of expression, in which the oracles of the heathens were conveyed. The history of Christ, as related by the Evangelists, may be considered as an enlarged and finished copy of the Prophecies, and the Prophecies themselves as the original sketches. The proportions and the outlines are uniformly preserved, and faithfully delineated. The colours indeed are more distinct and glowing, the figures have their just animation, but still their character and expression are the same.* Ineffectual have been the endeavours of the Jews to pervert the true meaning of these Prophecies; their literal sense is peculiarly applicable to our Lord, and to him alone they must necessarily be re-

* Stillingfleet's Orig. Sacræ, book ii, ch. v, &c. Paley's Evidences, vol. ii, p. 67. Grotius de Veritate, lib. v, c. 17, 18. Gibson's Pastoral Letters, vol. iv, p. 52, of the Enchiridion Theologicum. Jortin's Remarks, vol. i, p. 73, 74. Prideaux's Connections, vol. ii, p. 161. Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. vi, c. 4, sect. 5, 6, 7, 8, compared with the predictions that relate to the Temple, as recorded by the Evangelists.

ferred. Without mistaking their object, or perverting their clear and obvious sense, they cannot be applied to any other person whatever. Whilst these predictions strike the mind of an attentive reader of Scripture, with various degrees of evidence, there are some of them which cannot fail to impress him with the fullest conviction, as they immediately relate to the mission, miracles, and character, as well as the exact time of the coming of Christ. Isaiah and Daniel more especially seem rather to describe the past as Historians, than to anticipate the future as Prophets. We know, from the authority of Scripture, that multitudes of Jews, who had diligently studied the Prophecies from their youth, and acknowledged their divine authority, felt the force of their application to our Lord, and were converted to his religion. And not to appeal to other instances, we also know that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, so circumstantially descriptive of the suffering Messiah, effected the conversion of the Eunuch of Ethiopia, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and contributed greatly to produce a conviction of the truth of Christianity in the mind of the profligate Lord Rochester.*

The books, which contain these Prophecies, have been most carefully preserved even by the enemies of Christianity. Such are the Jews, whose religious belief is founded upon an acknowledgment of the divine inspiration of the Prophets. Hence they are undesignedly the supporters of that faith, to which they are confessedly hostile. A wide difference of opinion has prevailed among them in various ages; for their interpretations of the Prophets, before the coming of the Messiah, agreed much better with those of the Christians, than any they have given since the establishment of Christianity. And it is very much to the purpose repeatedly to take notice, that whatever construction they have put upon the *words* of the Prophecies, they have never raised any doubt, or brought any arguments to invalidate their *authenticity*.

As the divine mission of Christ received such support from the Prophecies, of which he was the subject; so it is

* This fact is recorded by Bishop Burnet. "To him Lord Rochester laid open with great freedom the tenor of his opinions, and the course of his life, and from him he received such conviction of the reasonableness of moral duty, and the truth of Christianity, as produced a total change both of his manners and opinions. The account of those salutary conferences is given by Burnet in a book, intituled, Some passages of the Life and Death of John Earl of Rochester; which the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety." Johnson's Life of Rochester, vol. iv, p. 6, 12mo

very strongly confirmed by those events, which he foresaw and foretold. He clearly described the *manner* of his own death, with many particular circumstances—the *place* where it was ordained to happen—the *treacherous method* by which he was to be betrayed into the hands of the Jewish governors, and given up to the Roman power—the *cruel* and *unbecoming treatment* he was to suffer, and the *exact period* of time that should elapse from his death to his resurrection. Such was precisely the train of events, as they are related at large by the Evangelists, and as those events were attested by the full acknowledgment and confession of the first martyrs, who sealed their belief with their blood. The Saviour of mankind speaks of future events without hesitation, not as things merely probable, but absolutely certain. He does not shadow them out in vague and ambiguous terms; but marks them in their rise, progress, and effects, in the clearest and most circumstantial descriptions. The interval between the prediction and its accomplishment, seems in his view to be annihilated; his penetrating mind pierces the veil of futurity, and the distant allusions of the Prophet are converted into the clear prospect of the spectator. Even at the time when Judea was in complete subjection to the Roman power, when a strong garrison kept its capital in awe, and rebellion against their conquerors, who had at that time the empire of the world, appeared as improbable as it was fruitless; he deplored the fall of the holy city, and pointed out the advance of the Roman standard, as the token of desolation, and the signal for his followers to save themselves, by flight, from captivity and destruction. At the time too when the temple of Jerusalem was held in the highest veneration by all foreigners, as well as Jews, what were the immediate observations of our Lord, when his disciples directed his attention, in terms of wonder and astonishment, to the vast and solid materials, of which that magnificent edifice was built? He lamented its approaching fall, and declared in explicit terms, that so complete should be its demolition, that not *one stone should be left upon another*. At a time likewise when the number of his followers was limited to a few fishermen of Galilee, and when he seemed destitute of every means to accomplish his purpose, he predicted the wide diffusion of the faith, and expressly proclaimed, that before the threatened calamities overwhelmed the Jews, and subverted their empire, his gospel should be preached among all nations.*

* See "History the interpreter of Prophecy," 4th Edit. for the illustration of this subject at large; a work to which I refer with the less reserve, as the public have received it with approbation.

The events, which happened about thirty years after the ascension of our Lord, completely verified these Prophecies. From the books of the New Testament, and particularly from the Acts of the Apostles, may be collected the fullest instances of the diligence and zeal with which the new religion was in a short time disseminated.

But Christians can appeal to an independent train of witnesses—to Jewis hand to prophane authors, for circumstantial accounts of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions. The historian Josephus, descended from the family, which bore the sacred office of High Priest, a distinguished general in the early part of the last Jewish war, has given a particular and exact confirmation of every circumstance. With singular care he has avoided to mention the name of Christ, and yet with singular precision he has illustrated his predictions relative to the destruction of Jerusalem. The important service he has thus rendered to Christianity is wholly unintentional. What he relates is drawn from him by the power of irresistible truth, and is a testimony far stronger, and more unexceptionable, than an explicit mention of the name of Christ, and a laboured encomium on his words and actions.

The curious details of Josephus, in his History of the Wars of the Jews, are confirmed by Tacitus, Philostratus, and Dion Cassius. It is probable they were all of them unacquainted with the works of the Jewish Historian; and yet they corroborate his account, and all unite to illustrate the Prophecies of our Lord.

IV. The Miracles of our Lord.

The most illustrious evidence of the divine origin of Christianity, and that evidence to which its great Author most confidently appealed, when called upon to prove the authority of his mission, consisted in the exercise of miraculous powers. The miracles of Christ were so *frequent*, that they could not be the effects of chance; so *public*, that they could not be the contrivance of fraud and imposture; so *instantaneous*, that they could not result from any preconcerted scheme; and so beneficial in their immediate consequences, and so conducive to propagate the salutary truths he taught, that they could not proceed from the agency of evil spirits. They must therefore have been effected by the interposition of that divine power, to which Christ himself attributed them. Our Lord did not come according to the

expectation of many of the Jews, as the conqueror of their enemies, to display his policy in council, and his courage in the field: but he was invested with powers, that enabled him to triumph over the works of darkness, and suspend the laws of nature. The frequent and public exercise of those powers was essential to his character as a teacher sent from God, so that miracles were the fullest and most satisfactory credentials of his divine mission.*

This divine Personage, whose manifestation to the world was preceded by such a regular train of prophecies; who instantaneously cured inveterate diseases, and at whose word even the dead arose; whose mind was adorned with consummate wisdom, and whose conduct was distinguished by every virtue; descended from heaven to deliver a perfect rule of faith and practice, and taught those important and indispensable lessons of duty, which are essentially necessary to the present and future happiness of mankind.

V. Christian Ethics, or the Precepts of our Lord.

The precepts of Christianity form the most complete, most intelligible, and most useful system of Ethics, or moral philosophy. The standard of duty, which is set up in the Gospel, is agreeable to our natural notions of the Supreme Being, and is calculated to correct our errors, to exalt our affections, to purify our hearts, and enlighten our understandings. The motives by which Christ enforces the practice of his laws, are consistent with the wisdom of the Almighty, and correspondent to the expectations of rational beings. He who duly weighs the *effects* of the Christian duties, and remarks how they contribute to restore man to the original dignity of his nature, will be led to conclude, that they form an indispensable part of a religion coming from God, because they are in every respect consistent with his wisdom, mercy, and goodness.

* "The evidence of our Saviour's mission from heaven is so great in the multitude of miracles he did, before all sorts of people (which the divine providence and wisdom has so ordered, that they never were, nor could be denied by any of the enemies and opposers of Christianity) that what he delivered cannot but be received as the oracles of God." Locke.

"Once believe that there is a God, and miracles are not incredible." Paley's View, vol, i. p. 13. vol. iii. p. 236—7, &c. Jortin's Remarks, vol, i. p. 259—267. Conybeare on the Nature, Possibility, and Certainty of Miracles. Enchiridion Theologicum, vol. iii. p. 153.

"All these miracles speak more goodness than power, and do not so much surprise the beholders, as touch their hearts." Bossuet, Univ. Hist. p. 253.

To view the moral part of the Christian dispensation in a proper light, it ought to be compared with the principles of ancient Philosophy. The sages of Greece and Rome undoubtedly present us with the most convincing proofs how far unenlightened reason could advance in the examination of moral obligation, and the discovery of the duties of man. But imperfection, if not error, was attached to all their systems.

If moral wisdom descended from heaven to dwell with Socrates, the most enlightened sage of the heathen world, she quickly caught the contagion of earthly depravity, and forgot her dignity so far as to bend at the shrine of superstition. Her dictates were not built upon any certain foundation, or digested into a consistent plan. They were disgraced with false notions, intermixed with frivolous refinements, and scattered among discordant sects. Each sect of philosophers had a different idea of happiness, and a different mode of investigating truth.* Every school was distinguished by its particular opinions; and the followers of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle, exerted the powers of their minds, rather to display their ingenuity, than to satisfy the inquiries of mankind, as to the nature, the principles, and the end of moral obligation. The powerful influence of example, and the strong and awakening voice of some great and divine authority, were requisite to give to their instructions the energy of a law. But the most material obstacle to a ready compliance with the dictates of heathen morality, was the want of such *sanctions* or confirmations by divine authority, as are calculated to hold the mind of man in constant obedience, by an immediate appeal to his hopes and fears—to his desire of future happiness, and his dread of future misery in a world to come.

And do we not find, that our holy Religion not only comprehends the best precepts of ancient philosophy in one regular system, but adds others which are peculiarly and eminently her own? Certainly. And this shews its high degree of perfection. To the Gospel of Christ we are indebted for those rules of conduct, which enjoin the sacrifice of self-interest, selfish pleasures, and vain-glory. By it alone we are taught in the most explicit language and in the most authoritative manner, to check all violent passions, and to cultivate the mild and pure affections of the heart, to forgive injuries, to love our enemies, to resist the first impulse of evil desires,

* See Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 532 fol.

to practise humility and universal benevolence, and to prefer the joys of heaven to the pleasures and occupations of the world. Advancing to a degree of improvement far beyond the lessons of heathen morality, far beyond what was ever taught under the porches of Athens, or in the groves of the Academy; we are instructed to entertain the most awful veneration for the Deity, and to express the most lively gratitude for his mercies;—we are supported by the firmest reliance on his grace, and we are invited upon all occasions to resort in earnest and fervent prayers to his power, mercy, and goodness, for the supply of our numerous wants, for the pardon of our sins, for security in the midst of danger, and for support at the hour of death.

Having a perfect model of virtue in the conduct of our blessed Lord set before us, and a perfect rule of life proposed in his divine instructions, we are taught to expect that our sincere endeavours to conquer the difficulties we have to surmount in our journey through life will be aided by divine assistance; and we are encouraged to hope that by our strenuous and unabated exertions, we may make a much nearer approach to that perfection of character, which reaches "the fulness of the measure of the stature of Christ," than it is possible for those to do, who act not upon Christian principles.*

* "The end of learning is to repair the ruin of our first parents, by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest *perfection*." Milton.

"And is it then possible that mortal man should in any sense attain unto *perfection?* Is it possible, that we who are born in sin, and conceived in iniquity, who are brought forth in ignorance, and grow up in a multiplicity of errors; whose understandings are dark, our wills biassed, our passions strong, our affections corrupted, our appetites inordinate, our inclinations irregular—Is it possible, that we who are surrounded with things themselves obscure, with examples evil, with temptations numberless, as the variety of objects that encompass us—Is it possible, that we should make any progress towards arriving at perfection? With men indeed this must needs be impossible; but with God all things are possible. For when we consider on the other side, that we have a perfect rule, and an unerring instructor; an example complete as the divine life, and yet with all the condescensions of human infirmity; motives strong and powerful as the rewards of heaven, and pressing as the necessity of avoiding endless destruction; assistances mighty as the grace of God, and effectual as the continual guidance of the Spirit of truth; when we consider this, I say, we may then perhaps be as apt to wonder on the other hand, that all men are not perfect. And yet with all these advantages, the perfection, that the best men ever arrive to, is but a figurative and very imperfect sense, with great allowances, and much diminution, with frequent defects, and many, very many limitations." Clarke, Sermon cxliv. vol. ii. p. 183, fol. edit.

Consider the precepts of Christianity not by comparison only with other systems, but as furnishing a rule of life. Were the actions of mankind to be regulated by them, nothing would be wanting to render us happy. Peace and harmony would flourish in every part of the globe. There would be no injustice, no impiety, no fraud, no rapine, no reign of disorderly passions. Every one, satisfied with his lot, resigned to the divine will, and enjoying a full prospect of endless happiness, would pass his days in content and tranquillity, to which neither pain nor sorrow, nor even the fear of death, could ever give any long interruption. Man would renovate his primeval condition, and in his words and actions exhibit the purity of Paradise. That such a state, as far as the imperfection of human nature would allow, can exist, we trust that the lives of many Christians, not only of the primitive but of subsequent times, can attest. Surely such a system must be transcendent in excellence, and bears within itself the marks of a divine origin.*

The revealed will of God is the proper source of moral obligation. It gives life and vigour to the performance of every duty, and without it all systems of morals are dry, uninteresting, and founded upon no fixed principle of action. How jejune and tedious are the Ethics of Aristotle, and the Offices of Cicero, the writings of Puffendorf and Grotius, of Whitby and Hutchinson, when compared with the short rules, illustrated by the most pleasing similies, and animated by the most striking examples, with which the Gospel of Christ abounds! His divine lessons touch the heart by the affecting combination of practice with theory, and even engage the passions on the side of virtue.

Men who are distinguished by great and extraordinary talents are remarked to have usually a peculiar mode of thinking and expression. Whoever examines the discourses of our Lord with care, will find in them a certain character which discriminates them from the lessons of all other moralists. His manner at once original and striking, clear and convinc-

* "From the New Testament may be collected a system of Ethics, in which every moral precept founded on reason is carried to a higher degree of purity and perfection, than in any other of the wisest philosophers of preceding ages; every moral precept founded on false principles is totally omitted, and many new precepts added peculiarly corresponding with the new object of this religion." Soame Jenyns, p. 9.

"In morality there are books enough writ both by ancient and modern philosophers; but the morality of the Gospel doth so exceed them all, that to give a man a full knowledge of true morality, I shall send him to no other book, but the New Testament." Locke on Reading and Study, vol. ii. p. 407.

ing, consists in deriving topics of instruction from objects and circumstances familiar to his hearers. He affects the passions, and improves the understanding through the medium of the senses. His public lessons to the people, and his private conversations to his disciples, allude perpetually to the *place* where he was, to the *surrounding* objects, the *season* of the year, or to the *occupations* and *circumstances* of those whom he addresses. When he exhorted his disciples to trust in Providence for the supply of their daily wants, he bade them behold the fowls of the air, which were then flying around them, and were fed by divine bounty, although they did not sow, nor reap, nor gather into barns. He desired them to observe the lilies of the field which were then blooming, and were beautifully clothed by the same power, and yet toiled not like the husbandman, whom they then saw at work. When the woman of Samaria was surprised at his asking her for water, he took occasion to represent his doctrine under the image of living water which flows from a spring. When he approached the temple, where sheep were kept in folds to be sold for the sacrifices, he spake in parables of the shepherd, the sheep, and the door of the sheep-fold. At the sight of little children, he repeatedly described the innocence and simplicity of true Christians. When he cured the man who was born blind, he immediately referred to himself, as the light of the world. He often alluded to the occupation of some of his disciples, whom he appointed fishers of men. Knowing that Lazarus was dead, and should be raised again, he discoursed concerning the awful truths of the general resurrection, and of life eternal.*

"Many writers upon the subject of moral philosophy divide too much the law of nature from the precepts of Revelation; which appears to me much the same defect, as if a commentator on the laws of England should content himself with stating upon each head the common law of the land, without taking any notice of acts of Parliament: or should choose to give his readers the common law in one book, and the statute law in another. When the obligations of morality are taught, (says Dr. Johnson in the preface to the Preceptor) let the sanctions of Christianity never be forgotten; by which it will be shewn that they give strength and lustre to each other; religion will appear to be the voice of reason; and morality the will of God."†

* Jortin's Discourses, p. 229. Matt. vi, 26, 28. John iv, 10, x, 1. Mark ix, 37. John ix, 39. Matt. iv, 10. xiii. 47. John xi. 25. For some very pleasing remarks on our Lord's manner of teaching, see Dr. Townson's Discourses, p. 279.

† Paley's Preface to his Moral and Political Philosophy.

From this view of the subject appears the excellence of the morality of the Gospel, and consequently how unnecessary it is to resort to any other scheme of Ethics for a rule of action. The various plans of duty, which have been formed exclusive of Christianity, seem not to propose any *motives* sufficiently cogent and permanent, to withhold men from the gratification of vicious desires, and the indulgence of violent passions. They must therefore give place to a more perfect law, which has the best claims to general reception, because it is founded on the express Revelation of the Will of the Creator, and Governor of the world, to his dependent and accountable creatures.

VI. The rapid and extensive propagation of the Gospel at its first preaching.

Of all the proofs, which are adduced to establish the truth of Christianity, there is no one more splendid, than that which arises from the rapid and extensive propagation of the Gospel; and this proof will appear very strong if it be considered as the fulfilment of a long train of Prophecies. Far from being intimidated by the opposition, the enmity, or even the most severe and bloody persecutions of a hostile world, the Apostles readily obeyed the commands of their Divine Master, and declined no hardships, and avoided no danger, in order to make proselytes to the faith. The effect of their labours was in a very short time visible in every country, to which they directed their steps. The rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate, the polished natives of Italy and Greece, as well as the rude inhabitants of the most uncivilized countries, enlisted under the banner of the Cross. The most ancient and most popular establishments of religion, which had ever been known in the world, gradually gave way to the new faith. The Greek, the Roman, and the Barbarian forsook their temples, consecrated by the veneration of ages to idolatrous worship, and repaired in crowds to the Christian churches; and at the close of only three centuries from its origin, the faith of the lowly Jesus of Nazareth was embraced by Constantine, the Sovereign of the Roman world, and throughout the wide compass of his dominions it was raised to the honours of a triumphant church, and to all the privileges and security of an established religion.

For the clearest proofs of these facts we may appeal not only to the animated details of those early Christian Writers, commonly called the Fathers of the Church, who expressed

themselves in terms of great exultation at the prospect of this wide diffusion of the faith; but to a number of Pagans who were strongly prejudiced against the Christian cause, or were enemies to its advancement in the world. The successive accounts of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius and Chrysostom, who were all eminent writers in the Church, are confirmed by the express declarations of Suetonius, Tacitus, Pliny, Lucian and Porphyry, all of whom were Pagans, and lived within three centuries from the time of Christ.

If the circumstances of discouragement and danger, under which the faith of Christ made so extraordinary a progress, be more distinctly enumerated, we shall more properly estimate the value of the argument drawn from the rapid propagation of Christianity, when it was first proclaimed to the world.*

Most of the Apostles were not only persons of low education, ignoble birth, and destitute of every distinction to recommend them to the notice and favour of the world; but were exposed to the slander and malice of their countrymen, for their attachment to Christ, and held in detestation by the natives of other places, by reason of their Jewish extraction and manners. They went forth to discharge their duty, as the missionaries of their divine Master, at a time when the world was enlightened by learning and science; when philosophy was cultivated in the schools of Greece, and general knowledge was diffused over many of the places, which were the principal scenes of their labours, sufferings, and triumphs. The wiles of imposture, and the artifices of falsehood, could not long have escaped the detection of such inquisitive, intelligent, and enlightened people, as flourished in that age. The Apostles and their converts were exposed to the taunts of derision, and the cruelties of persecution; and they risked the loss not only of liberty and character, of friends and relations, but even of life itself, for the profession of their new faith. Priests, Magistrates, and Kings were leagued against them, as they were falsely represented to be the abettors of dangerous innovations, and the disturbers of public order and tranquillity. They proclaimed a system adverse no less

* Paley's Evidences, vol. i, p. 30, vol. iii, p. 94. For a concise and accurate account of the progress of Christianity, and the labours of its first preachers, see Paley, vol. i, c. 4, 5. He institues a comparison between the first preachers of Christianity, and the modern missionaries: from the slow and inconsiderable progress made by the latter, in comparison with the rapid and extensive success of the former, he proves the divine origin of their religion. This argument is fully stated, and urged with peculiar strength and perspicuity, vol. iii, p. 59, seq. 2.

to the established religion, than to the dearest hopes of the Jews, as they expected a triumphant Messiah from heaven, to deliver them from temporal distress, and restore the glory of their fallen kingdom. They looked with contempt on the disciples of Christ, who had suffered the punishment of a common malefactor. When the Apostles preached the Gospel to the Gentile world, they proposed no union of the principles of Christianity with the rites of Polytheism; but, on the contrary, boldly asserted the necessity of overthrowing every altar of every idol, and of establishing the exclusive worship of the one true God. Such was the nature of their plain declarations at the particular time, when the people of every country were strongly attached to their ancient and revered establishments of religion, which charmed the eye with magnificent processions and ceremonies, and gratified the passions with licentious festivals. Thus the power and authority of the great, the interests of the priests, the passions and prejudices of the bulk of mankind, were all engaged in open hostility against the preachers of the new religion, and seemed for ever likely to exclude the admission of Christianity. But all these obstacles, irresistible as they would have been by exertions merely human, gradually yielded to the unexceptionable testimony, which the first missionaries bore to the character, actions, and resurrection of their Lord and Master,—to the evidence of miracles, which they were enabled to perform,—and to the power of divine truth.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THE Christian religion, even attended, as we have seen it was, with the most striking proofs of its divine origin, was no sooner proclaimed to the world, than it met with those who cavilled at its doctrines, and opposed its progress. It was too pure in its nature, and too sublime in its objects, to suit the gross conceptions of some men; and its divine Author erected too perfect a standard of duty to suit the depraved inclinations and unruly passions of others. We are therefore the less surprised to find, that it has from the earliest ages been assailed by enemies of every description. As its followers were at first exposed to the severest trials of persecution; so have they, in succeeding ages, been obliged

to defend themselves against the attacks of misapplied learning, and the cavils of ingenious sophistry. Writers neither destitute of diligence nor acuteness have attempted, in various ages, to acquire reputation in this unhappy cause. The most prominent and striking circumstance which must be remarked by every candid examiner of their works, from the days of Julian the apostate to those of Gibbon the infidel historian, is, that they have frequently incurred the same censure, which they have bestowed with an unsparing hand upon others; for at the same time, that they have not scrupled to reprobate in the severest terms the intemperate zeal of the advocates for the faith, they have displayed as much, or probably more vehemence and pertinacity, in their own cause.

In each successive age since the origin of Christianity, every kind of attack has been levelled against it, which the wit of Man could dictate; sometimes it has been assailed by open arguments, sometimes by disingenous insinuations; frequently has metaphysical subtlety endeavoured to undermine it, and frequently the sneer of sarcasm, and the effrontery of ridicule, have been directed against its sacred institutions, and its most sincere and serious professors. But much as unbelievers of every description may have asserted their claims to superiority over ignorant minds, or much as they may have imagined they soared above vulgar prejudices, they have never remained long unanswered, or unrefuted. As often as infidelity has waged war against the faith, and fought with various weapons, so often has she been defeated and disarmed by able champions of Christianity.

"Whilst the infidel mocks at the superstition of the vulgar, insults over their credulous fear, their childish errors and fantastic rites, it does not occur to him to observe, that the most preposterous device, by which the weakest devotee ever believed he was securing the happiness of a future life, is more rational than unconcern about it. Upon this subject nothing is so absurd as indifference, no folly so contemptible as thoughtlessness and levity." Paley's Moral Philosophy, p. 391.

Modern unbelievers may have reason to boast of the boldness of their attacks, but little of the *originality* of their arguments since the cavils of Voltaire, and his Followers, newly pointed as they may be with wit, or urged as they may be with additional vehemence, can be traced to Julian, Porphyry and Celsus, the ancient enemies of the church. Some who dislike the toil of investigating truth for them-

selves, eagerly take advantage of the labours of others; and lay great stress upon the example of those eminent men, who have disbelieved, or rather in some instances perhaps only affected to disbelieve, the fundamental truths of Christianity. The Christian professes not to deny the force of such an argument, because he is aware, that the weight of authority is very powerful, whether avowed or concealed. It undoubtedly gives a bias to the mind, which is more commonly felt than acknowledged; and it has considerable influence in determining the judgment in most of the affairs of life. If however this argument be urged in opposition to Christianity, fair reasoning requires that it should be allowed due force in its favour. Ask the infidel, who are the leaders, under whose banners he has enlisted himself, and perhaps he will point to Hume, and to Bolingbroke: but surely, if even we allow the elegance and acuteness of the one, and the florid declamation of the other, all the praise they deserve, they can never bear a competition with those luminaries of science, and those teachers of true wisdom, who have not only embraced the Christian faith, but maintained its truth and divine origin, and directed their conduct by its rules. They can never be weighed in the balance of merit, against the advocates of Christianity, so dispassionate, sincere, ingenuous, and acute, so divested of all objections, that can be drawn from interested attachments, as Milton, Clarendon, Hale, Boyle, Bacon, Locke, Newton, Addison, Lyttleton, West, and Johnson.*

Ought not the testimony, which such men as these have given, to be held in the highest estimation? A testimony founded not upon any surrender of their judgments to the prevailing opinions of the day, but upon close and patient examination of the evidences of Christianity, of which their writings give the most satisfactory proofs. Or are such men to be undervalued, when brought into comparison with the vaunting infidels of modern times? Where do we find persons of such profound understandings, and inquisitive minds, as Bacon, Locke, and Newton; where of such a sublime genius as Milton; where of such various and extensive learn-

* The list of those on whom *no motive* but a love of truth, and a regard for their own salvation, operated to induce them to embrace Christianity, may be greatly enlarged; more particularly by adverting to many characters of the first eminence, distinguished in other countries. To the illustrious names of Savile, Hales, Seldon, Hatton, Mead, Steel, Dugdale, Nelson, Littleton, as well as those included in my list, may be added those of Salmasius, Grotius, Montfaucon, Pascal, Puffendorf, Erasmus, Montesquieu, and Haller. I am sensible of the great imperfections of this detail.

ing; exhausting all the literary treasures of eastern, as well as western literature, as Sir William Jones, who at the close of life recorded his conviction of the truth of divine Revelation, and celebrated the excellence of the holy Scriptures? To compare the race of modern infidels in point of genius, learning, science, judgment, or love of truth;—to compare Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, Godwin and Paine, with such men as these, were surely as idle, and as absurd, as to compare the weakness of infancy with the maturity of manhood; the flutter of a butterfly with the vigorous soaring of an eagle; or the twinkling of a star with the glory of the sun, illuminating the world with his meridian brightness.

It is well remarked by an elegant and sensible writer, who could have no professional bias to influence his opinions, that, "The clergy are both ready and able to maintain the cause of Christianity, as their many excellent writings in defence of it sufficiently demonstrate: but as the generality of mankind is more governed by prejudice than reason, their writings are not so universally read, or so candidly received, as they deserve; because they are supposed to proceed, not from conscience and conviction, but from interested views and the common cause of their profession—A supposition evidently as partial and injurious as that would be, which should impute the gallant behaviour of our officers to the mean consideration of their pay, and their hopes of preferment; exclusive of all the nobler motives of gentlemen; viz. the sense of honour, and the love of their country." West on the Resurrection.

Against the authority of such insidious writers as Voltaire and Gibbon, we enter our serious, and we think our equitable protest; we exhort every one to beware of their sophistry, and to guard against their delusive arts. They have violated the laws of fair controversy, and fought with the weapons that cannot be allowed on such occasions. They employ ridicule instead of argument, artful insinuations instead of serious discussion, and bold assertion instead of proof. They write to the passions and imagination, and not to the judgment of mankind. They artfully involve the questions relative to the evidences of Christianity in perplexity, and endeavour to throw the blame arising from the dissentions and usurpations, the vices and ignorance of some of the clergy, and the injury, which in dark and superstitious times was done to the liberties of mankind, upon Christianity itself. They select those topics, which can best be turned to their purpose, by the arts of misrepresentation; they embellish

them with the flowery ornaments of style, and skilfully adapt them to the passions and prejudices of their readers. As however their conduct is thus artful and insidious, so ought their labours to be vain and unfruitful; for they do not try the cause upon its own merits: they do not, like candid and dispassionate reasoners, separate the subject in dispute from all foreign and extraneous circumstances: they do not agitate questions, and start objections, from a desire of being well informed: they do not, in the spirit of true philosophy, examine the evidences of Christianity with that becoming seriousness, which is due to an affair of such infinite importance to the present welfare, and future happiness of mankind: they do not consider that the same unbelief, if applied to the common records of history, or the ordinary affairs of life, would expose them to the imputation of blind rashness, or extreme folly. As their conduct is evidently not dictated by a love of truth, their scoffs, their sarcasms, and their sophistry, deserve no attention; and as they not only wantonly reject, but industriously depreciate the best gift of heaven, they ought to be shunned, and reprobated, as enemies to the dearest interests of mankind.*

And they certainly ought to be so considered, whether we observe the baleful influence of their opinions upon our present, or our future state. By a strange perversion of reason and argument, some of the Philosophists in France, and Godwin in England, have laboured to subvert the regular order of nature.† Instead of representing the exercise of the private affections, as preparatory to that of public virtue, they set the one in direct opposition to the other. They propose to build *universal philanthropy* upon the ruins of *individual benevolence*, and tell us we must love our whole species *more*, at the same time they direct us to love every individual of it *less*. In pursuit of this chimerical project, which to the shame and disgrace of this country, has found advocates in England, as well as in France, gratitude, humility, conjugal,

* "I am no advocate for the abject prostration of the devotee, or the frantic ecstacies of the fanatic. But there is a superstition, says the immortal Bacon, in shunning superstition; and he that disdains to follow religion in the open and in the trodden path, may chance to lose his way in the trackless wilds of experiment, or in the obscure labyrinths of speculation." Parr on Education, p. 24.

† For this train of observation I am indebted to "Modern Infidelity considered," in a sermon preached at the Baptist Meeting at Cambridge, by R. Hall, A. M. Considering the sound arguments of this writer, recommended by great eloquence and zeal in the cause of Christianity, I am inclined to exclaim, "talis cum sit, utinam *noster* esset." See p. 57, &c.

parental, and filial affection, together with all the lovely train of domestic virtues, are ridiculed and degraded, as too low and vulgar for the attention of enlightened philosophers; virtue is confined solely to a certain vague and enthusiastic ardour for the general good, and the affections for the social circle in which we live are violently transferred to distant countries and unknown multitudes. But surely it is natural to inquire, when all the common charities are thus deadened and destroyed, when the flame that communicates its genial warmth and brightness to social life is extinguished, and all the ties that now bind man to man are torn asunder by the hand of the modern Philosophists—surely it is natural to inquire, whence is this ardent affection for the general good to spring? And when they have completed their work of insensibility, or rather of infatuation; when they have taught their disciple to look with perfect indifference upon his nearest connexions; when he has estranged himself from his friends, insulted his benefactors, and silenced the voice of gratitude, pity, and charity, will he be better prepared for the love of his species? Will he become a true philanthropist, in proportion as he labours to suppress the feelings, and neglects the duties of a parent and a friend? Rather may we not conclude with certainty, that, in this attempt to revive a species of Stoicism, and to banish all the feelings which soften, humanize, and refine our hearts, selfishness, moroseness, and cold and sullen apathy will assume the empire of the soul and sink the human character to the lowest state of degradation and wretchedness? Rather may we not be certain, that under pretence of advancing the general and universal good—terms that are so indefinite as to be almost unintelligible, when applied to creatures of limited capacities like man, endued with limited powers, and moving in narrow spheres of action—terms belonging to an object to which imagination may give innumerable shapes—rather may we not be certain that he will be prepared for the breach of every duty, and the perpetration of every crime? But if those who indulge in these wild speculations, and thus sport with humanity as well as reason, were to examine the holy Scriptures, they would perceive that Revelation is in perfect harmony with the order of nature, which instructs us by our own feelings, that universal benevolence is the last and most perfect fruit of the social affections. Such is the voice of nature, and such is the principle of ancient philosophy refined, enlarged, and perfected by Christianity. The solid arguments of the great Roman Orator, when reasoning upon this

subject, in which he comprises the wisdom of all former ages, coincide with the precepts of holy Writ. Thus do Reason and Revelation unite to confirm the order of Nature, which leads in all things from particulars to generals, from private to public affections, from the love of parents, brothers, and sisters, to those more extensive relations, which, beginning with our native place, extend to our country, and thence proceeding, comprehend the vast society of the human race. An attempt to reverse this order is as absurd as to build without a foundation, to expect a copious and perennial stream after the source of a river has been exhausted, or to think to attain the height of science, without acquiring the first elements of knowledge.

From whatever causes the doubts and cavils of modern Infidels arise, whether from a desire to gain the reputation of superior sagacity, a love of novelty, an ambition to soar above vulgar notions, a fear of being thought credulous or superstitious, or the pursuit of such practices as are inconsistent with the purity of the Christian character; it is clear, they are imperfectly acquainted with the real nature of the religion itself, and the various proofs by which it is supported. They condemn not so much what they do not understand, as what they do not give themselves the trouble to investigate. Do they carefully examine the *facts* which had such great influence in attracting the notice of the world to our Saviour? I allude to the *miracles* of various kinds which he wrought; and do they read the accounts of those wonderful operations of divine power and goodness, with minds disposed to yield to the force of historical evidence! We read in the awful parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, that the former, when in a state of torment, was desirous that a person might be sent from the dead for the conversion of his unbelieving Brothers. Is there any Infidel who wishes for such a proof of the truth of Christianity? Suppose God should grant his desire, and that in the still and solemn hours of the night, *when deep sleep had fallen upon* the rest of Mankind, a Spirit should pass before him, whose form he could not distinctly discern, but which resembled a lately departed Friend, "Fear would come upon him, and trembling, which would cause all his bones to shake." Job iv, 14. Suppose there should be profound silence, and then a voice be heard, saying I am *come to tell you there is a God—a Heaven and a Hell: forsake your sins, ere it be too late, and seek salvation in the Gospel of Christ, or you will perish for ever.* What effect would this vision produce? Probably it would terrify the Infidel to

cles are examined, the more strongly does the light of its truth shine upon the mind. The progress of Infidelity, and the apostacy of multitudes naturally awaken our concern, and make us more than usually solicitous to caution the rising generation against the errors of those, who wish to mislead them. But is there any circumstance in these awful "signs of the times," that should shake our faith, or excite our surprise, as if the *present crisis* was peculiarly alarming and unexpected? The attentive reader of the holy Scriptures may safely reply in the negative; since the actual condition of the world is precisely such as revelation gives us reason to expect. All the circumstances that mark the character and the conduct of Infidels; their turn for ridicule; their folly, and impatience of restraint; their licentiousness of conduct, and insatiable appetite for change; the snares they lay to catch the unwary; and their vain professions to free the world from slavery, whilst they are themselves the captives of sin, are drawn by the pencil of Prophecy, with such clearness and accuracy, that no one can mistake the resemblance.

In the Epistles of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Jude, you may read an exact anticipation of that modern Philosophism, which was ordained to agitate and afflict the world, in these "latter" or "last times." And thus, by examining the Prophetic Word of God, and comparing it with the present state of the world, you increase the Evidences of Christianity. The Free-thinkers of England, the Philosophists of France, and the Illuminati of Germany, the disciples of Bolingbroke, Voltaire, and Weishaupt, confirm the divine origin of the Scripture, which they reject, and accomplish in a most exact and wonderful manner, the predictions which are the subjects of their contempt and ridicule.*

"The probability that the Gospel may be true, is inferred from the utter improbability that it should be false. It is like nothing of human contrivance. The perfection of its morality transcends the best efforts of human wisdom: the character of its Founder is far superior to that of a mere man: and it will not be said, that his Apostles can be compared to any other fishermen, or any other teachers, that ever were heard of. The views displayed in the Gospel of the Divine dispensations, with respect to the human race, are such, as before the commencement of our Saviour's ministry had never entered into the mind of man. To believe all this to be a mere human fable requires a degree of credulity,

* See the "Interpreter of Prophecy," Vol. II. for a particular account of their pernicious errors.

which, in the ordinary affairs of life, would do a man little credit; it is like believing, that a first rate ship of war might have been the work and the invention of a child." Beattie's Evidence of the Christian Religion, v. i, p. 86.

I. The Benefits resulting from Christianity.

Let the sincere inquirer after truth turn with aversion from such delusive guides, as the Infidel writers either of ancient or modern times, and consider what are the benefits, which the prevalence of Christianity has actually conferred upon the world; and let him carefully estimate what permanent and substantial good, by the influence of its precepts, and the fulfilment of its promises, it is able at all times to produce.

The Christian Religion has triumphed over those practices, customs, and institutions, which in ancient times were a disgrace to the character of man. It has softened the horrors of war, and alleviated the treatment of prisoners. It has vindicated the rights of nature, by abolishing the cruel practice of exposing infants; and it has raised the character and the importance of women in society, and given greater dignity, permanency, and honour to the institution of marriage. It put a stop to the combats of gladiators, the favourite and barbarous amusement of the Romans; it banished the impure conduct that disgraced the worship of the Pagan Deities, as well as totally extinguished the worship itself. It has abridged the labours of the mass of mankind, and procured for them one happy day in seven for the enjoyment of repose, and attention to the exercises of public devotion. All Christian countries, and more especially our own, abound with establishments for the relief of sickness and poverty, and the maintenance of helpless infancy, and decrepid age. It has triumphed over the slavery, that prevailed in every part of the Roman Empire, and pursues its glorious progress, in the diminution of a similar state of misery and oppression, which has long disgraced the European character in the West Indies.

Thus has it in its general and combined effects exalted the character of man, by engrafting the purest affections, and the most sacred duties upon the stock of his natural desires, and most powerful instincts. It has provided the means of establishing a perfect harmony between the sensibilities of his nature, and the convictions of his reason, by the Revelation of its divine truths.

And, not to expatiate upon its mild and salutary effects upon

the temper, the passions, and the general conduct of millions, who, although their names were never recorded in the pages of history, were more worthy and honourable members of society, and are infinitely more deserving the approbation of mankind, than all the ancient heroes who have sought renown by war, or all the modern sceptics who have aspired to fame by their opposition to the faith; we may enumerate, in addition to its extensive and various improvements, the refinement it has given to *manners*, and its beneficial influence upon the public judgment of *morals*. Mankind, no longer left a prey to ignorance, or to loose and fluctuating opinions, are furnished with a guide, to which they can always resort, for principles of religion and rules of conduct. Hence the most illiterate and humble members of the Christian Church can form more true and accurate notions of the Deity, his attributes and providence, as well as a more rational notion of moral obligation, of virtue, and vice, and the final destination of man, than was ever reached by the ancient sages in the brightest days of Heathen Philosophy.

Christianity, far from being calculated for any political constitution in particular, is found to prosper and flourish under *every form* of government; it corrects the spirit of democracy, and softens the rigour of despotic power. An enlargement of mind, and superior intelligence, distinguish in a peculiar manner those nations that have embraced the faith, from those extensive portions of mankind, who fight under the banners of Mahomet, or adhere to the more pacific Institutes of Brama and Confucius. The inhabitants of the East groan under the oppressions of arbitrary power; and little can their religion contribute to alleviate the weight of their chains. The Mahometans more especially are marked by peculiar ignorance; and so far are they from being distinguished by the light of science, or the cultivation of useful knowledge, that they rarely adopt any foreign improvements, and even smother in its birth the spirit of liberal inquiry and research. White's Bampton Lect. Serm. ix.

To Christian nations belong the exclusive cultivation of learning and science, and the most assiduous advancement of every useful and ornamental art. By them every faculty of the soul is called forth into action; no torpid indolence stops the bold career of their genius, or restrains the patient and effectual operations of their industry. Since the purity of religion was restored by the Reformation, every part of Christendom has caught the flame of emulation; general knowledge is widely diffused, and the character of a Chris-

tian, and more particularly that of a Protestant, is marked by a superior improvement of the intellectual powers.

II. The Church of England.

Our Church, which stands at the head of the Protestant Establishments, was, by the divine Providence purified from the corruptions of the See of Rome in the reign of Henry VIII. Her courageous and enlightened Reformers threw off the yoke of Papal supremacy and superstition, revived the lively image of the primitive Establishment, and restored the modes of worship that had prevailed in the purest times of Christianity. This conformity has been celebrated by its own members at home, and its admirers abroad, as its most illustrious and distinguishing characteristic. The fundamental Articles of her Faith are strictly consistent with Scripture; her sacred edifices, divested of the gaudy decorations of Popish temples, are furnished only with those appendages which give dignity to public worship. Her devotional exercises, not confined to a foreign tongue, but intelligible to all, may be fairly pronounced superior to all other sacred compositions of human origin, for simplicity of language, fervour of piety, and evangelical tenour of sentiment. The orders of the Priesthood, deriving their origin from the Apostles themselves, are confirmed by the earliest usage, and are recommended by the great utility of clerical subordination. The constitution of the State, in return for the alliance which it has formed with the Church, derives from the association additional security for the observance of the laws, and the preservation of order. The unmolested profession, and open exercise of their own particular worship, are allowed to Dissenters of all denominations. The prudent toleration, with which they are indulged, equally avoids the extremes of persecution, which cuts asunder the ties of charity, and of that unbounded freedom, which may convert religion into an engine of political mischief. Thus deservedly renowned for her institutions, and her modes of worship, the Church of England is as favourable to the cultivation of the mind, as to the advancement of pure Christianity; and the zeal of her sons for the promotion of her interests has never been more conspicuous, than their learning, their talents, and their virtues.

Conclusion.

To the prevalence of Christianity, the study of its records, and the institutions and establishments to which it gave

rise, modern times are indebted for the preservation of the invaluable remains of Grecian and Roman literature. When the barbarians of the North, and the East, and the Mahometans of the South overspread the provinces of the Roman Empire, the city of Constantinople, where we may recollect the Christian Religion had been first supported by Imperial authority, preserved its inhabitants from that general ignorance which overspread the rest of the world. During the dark ages, the light of learning, however feeble, was still kept burning in monastic cells; the Latin language, into which the Scriptures were translated, was cultivated; and the precious remains of classical genius escaped the ravages, to which every other species of property was exposed by the ferocity and violence of a barbarous people. From these repositories, happily secured from destruction by the superstition of the times, they were drawn at the revival of learning; and the service which they have afford to the human mind has not been confined to its researches into philosophy, science, and literature, but extended to sacred criticism, and the illustration of the Scriptures.

As Christianity is thus auspicious to the cultivation of the intellectual powers, as well as beneficial in its moral effects, it deserves the first attention of the studious. The duties which it prescribes indeed are admirably calculated to produce that docile temper and soberness of thought, those habits of perseverance and patient investigation, which are absolutely necessary in the pursuit of general knowledge. Religion stamps its just value upon all other attainments, and consecrates them to the best and most noble service. It asserts its own glorious and transcendent superiority, because it confines not its researches to objects of immediate utility only, but elevates our thoughts to heaven, and carries on the mind to the growing improvements of its faculties, throughout the infinite ages of eternity.*

Such are the reasons for our urgent importunities to our young readers, to lay the foundations of their lives on the firm ground of Christian faith, and build upon it whatever is just and good, worthy and noble, till the structure be com-

* To that elevation of mind above the common events of life, whether prosperous or adverse, which Christianity is capable of inspiring, may be applied the noble description of Claudian :—

Fortunæ secura nitet, nec fascibus ullis
Erigitur, plausuve cupit clarescere vulgi:
Nil opis externæ cupiens, nil indiga laudis;
Divitiis animosa suis, immotaque cunctis
Casibus, ex alta mortalia despicit arce.

plete in moral beauty. "The world, into which you are entering, lies in wait with a variety of temptations. Unfavourable sentiments of religion will soon be suggested to you, and all the snares of luxury, false honour, and interest, spread in your way, which are too successful, and to many fatal. Happy the few that in any part of life become sensible of their errors, and with painful resolution tread back the wrong steps, which they have taken! But happiest of men is he, who by an even course of right conduct from the first, as far as human frailty permits, hath at once avoided the miseries of sin, the sorrows of repentance, and the difficulties of virtue; who not only can think of his present state with composure, but reflects on his past behaviour with thankful approbation; and looks forward with unmixed joy to that important future hour, when he shall appear before God, and humbly offer to him a whole life spent in his service." Archbishop Secker's Sermons.

Let me then continue most seriously to exhort you, *my young Readers*, to listen with all earnestness to the sacred words of the great Founder of our holy Religion. Attend with mingled sensations of delight, gratitude, and reverence, to the revelation of the Divine will, which he descended from heaven to promulgate. The duties, which you owe to your Maker, to mankind, and to yourselves, are stated with full authority, and explained with the utmost perspicuity in the inspired Writings of his Evangelists and Apostles. In them you find that the Saviour of the world has illustrated his divine precepts by the most pleasing and striking examples, has enforced them by the most awful sanctions, and recommended them by the bright perfection of his own conduct. There he has unfolded the great mystery of redemption, and communicated the means, by which degenerate and fallen man may recover the favour of his offended Maker. There he gives a clear view of the divine administration of all human affairs: and there he represents this mortal life, which forms only a part of our existence, as a short period of warfare and trial. He points to the solemn scenes, which open beyond the grave; the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the impartial distribution of rewards and punishments. He displays the completion of the divine mercy and goodness in the final establishment of perfection and happiness. By making such wonderful and interesting discoveries, let him excite your zeal, and fix your determination to adorn the acquirements of learning and science with the graces of his holy Religion, and to dedicate the days of health

and of youth to his honour and service. Amid the retirement of study, or the business of active life, let it be your first care, as it is your *duty*, and your *interest*, to recollect, that the great Author and Finisher of your faith has placed the rewards of virtue beyond the reach of time and death; and promised that eternal happiness to the faith and obedience of man, which can alone fill his capacity for enjoyment, and alone satisfy the ardent desires of his soul.

CLASS THE SECOND.

LANGUAGE.

CHAPTER I.

LANGUAGE IN GENERAL.

THE principles and characteristics of Language render it a subject of pleasing and useful inquiry. It is the general vehicle of our ideas, and represents by words all the conceptions of the mind. Books and conversation are the offspring of this prolific parent. The former introduce us to the treasures of learning and science, and make us acquainted with the opinions, discoveries, and transactions of past ages; by the latter the general intercourse of society is carried on, and our ideas are conveyed to each other with nearly the same rapidity, with which they arise in the mind. Language, in conjunction with reason, to which it gives its proper activity, use, and ornament, raises man above the lower orders of animals; and, in proportion as it is polished and refined, exalts one nation above another in the scale of civilization and intellectual dignity.

Inquiries into the nature of any particular Language, if not too abstruse and metaphysical, are subjects of pleasing and useful speculation. So close is the connexion between words and ideas, that no learning whatever can be obtained without their aid and interposition. In proportion as the former are studied and examined, the latter become clear and complete; and according as words convey our meaning

in a full and adequate manner, we avoid the inconvenience of being misunderstood, and are secure from the perplexity of doubt, the errors of misconception, and the cavils of dispute. It must always be remembered, that words are merely the *arbitrary* signs of ideas, connected with them by custom, not allied to them by nature; and that each idea, like a ray of light, is liable to be tinged by the medium of the word through which it passes. The volumes of controversy which fill the libraries of the learned would have been comparatively very small, if the disputants who wrote them had given a clear definition of their principal terms. Accurate definition is one of the most useful parts of logic; and we shall find, when we come to the examination of that subject, that it is the only solid ground upon which reason can build her arguments, and proceed to just conclusions.

In order that the true sense of words may be ascertained, and that they may strike with their whole force, derivation must lend its aid to definition. It is this which points out the source from whence a word springs, and the various streams of signification that flow from it. The student, while employed in tracing the origin of Language, and ascertaining its signification, will reap great advantage from calling *history* to his assistance; and he will find that allusions, idioms, and figures of speech are illustrated by particular facts, opinions, and institutions. The customs of the Greeks throw light upon the expressions of their authors; without some acquaintance with the Roman laws, many forms of expression in the Orations of Cicero are unintelligible; and many descriptions in the Old and New Testament are obscure, unless they are illustrated by a knowledge of eastern manners. Furnished with such aids, the scholar acquires complete, not partial information; throws upon Language all the light that can be reflected from his general studies; and imbibes, as far as a modern can imbibe it, the true and original spirit of ancient authors.

As long as any one confines his studies solely to his native tongue, he cannot understand it perfectly, or ascertain with accuracy its poverty or richness, its beauties or defects. He who cultivates other languages as well as his own, gains new instruments to increase the stock of his ideas, and opens new roads to the temple of knowledge. He draws his learning from pure sources, converses with the natives of other countries without the assistance of an interpreter, and surveys the contents of books without the dim and unsteady light of translations. He may unite the speculations of a

philosopher with the acquirements of a linguist; he may compare different tongues, and form just conclusions with respect to their defects and beauties, and their correspondence with the temper, genius, and manners of a people. He may trace the progress of national refinement, and discover by a comparison of arts and improvements with their correspondent terms, that the history of Language, inasmuch as it developes the efforts of human genius, and the rise and advancement of its inventions, constitutes an important part of the history of Man.

I. Theories of the Origin of Language.

Various theories have been formed to account for the origin of language, which, however ingenious, are far from being satisfactory. The celebrated author of the Wealth of Nations supposes "two savages, who had never been taught to speak, and who had been bred up remote from the societies of men, would naturally begin to form that language, by which they would endeavour to make their sentiments intelligible to each other, by uttering certain sounds, whenever they meant to denote objects." Thus they would begin to give names of things, to class individual objects under a species which they denoted by a common name, and proceed gradually to the formation of all the parts of speech.*

The condition of these two savages is wholly imaginary, as it cannot apply to any persons, who have ever been known to exist. It may fairly be asked, how they came into such a state? Was it in consequence of their own previous determination? If it was, then they must have conversed, in order to make such an agreement. If it was not the result of such a measure, they must have been placed there by other rational and talking beings, and must consequently have acquired from them the names, which in their recluse condition they applied to the surrounding objects. If they borrowed the terms from others, then of course the hypothesis of a language, considered as an invention of the savages themselves, falls at once to the ground.

Some instances, it may be granted, have been reported of persons, who have been found in a wild state, without education or the use of speech: but no accurate and well-authenticated account is given of the exact time of life, when they were first placed in such a state, or of their manner of living.

* Considerations concerning the first formation of languages, in Smith's Theory of moral Sentiments, vol. ii, p. 403.

Upon such weak principles, therefore, no argument can be established to confirm the truth of the hypothesis.

The theory of Lord Monboddo, embellished as it is by quotations from ancient authors, and supported by plausible arguments, is liable to similar objections. (Origin of Language, vol. i, p. 514, 545, 626, vol. iv, p. 50.) He supposes, that language was not originally natural to man, and that the *political* state of society was necessary for its invention. This principle forms the basis of his elaborate work on the origin and progress of language. He asserts that man in his natural state is a wild animal, without language or arts of any kind. To prove this point, he cites the opinions of Lucretius and Horace, who describe the human race as first rising from the earth, mute and savage, and living for some time in a state of war, before the invention of arts and the establishment of laws introduced the improvement of manners. He quotes descriptions from the works of Diodorus Siculus, Leo Africanus, and other writers. But in the whole detail of his authorities, there is not one strong and well attested fact, that is strictly and indisputably to his purpose. The vague and fanciful descriptions of poets cannot be admitted as proper evidence in such a case. The accounts of Diodorus Siculus, and the other writers whom he presses into his service, are taken from the reports of credulous travellers. Some of them are not to the purpose; in many of the others are circumstances highly improbable, or evidently false. Some of the descriptions are not sufficiently accurate to enable us, to ascertain, whether the beings, that were observed by travellers to live in a wild state, were really men, or inferior animals. Lord Monboddo is aware that the arguments of Rousseau, founded upon the principle that there could be no society without language, press with great force against his whole system. To what instances then has he recourse to extricate himself from the difficulty? Not to an example taken from a race of men possessing the faculty of reason, and the organs of speech; but from the beavers of Canada, and the foxes of the river Danastris! When he ought to adduce instances of *men*, he produces those of *inferior* animals; and his descriptions of them are so extraordinary, that they are entitled to very little credit. When he speaks of society, he certainly must be understood to mean only the state of such creatures, as, destitute of the organs of speech, herd together merely as they are impelled by the force of instinct. Such a state is more properly to be called *gregarious*, than *sociable*; because to the latter term is always

applied some idea of a disposition to converse, and to communicate thought, which is totally inconsistent with the nature of any beings, not endowed with the faculty of speech.

How the original societies of men could have been formed without the aid of language, or language invented without society, are points which the disquisitions of these writers, however ingenious, are far from enabling us to settle. The only rational and satisfactory method of solving the difficulty is to refer the origin of speech to the great Creator himself. Not that it is necessary to suppose, that he inspired the first parents of mankind with any particular original or primitive language; but that he made them fully sensible of the power with which they were endued of forming articulate sounds, gave them an impulse to exert it, and left the arbitrary imposition of words to their own choice. Their ingenuity was left to itself to multiply names, as new objects occurred to their observation; and thus language was gradually advanced in process of time to the different degrees of copiousness and refinement, which it had reached among various nations.

This theory is conformable to the description given in the Sacred Writings, and agrees very remarkably with the opinions to be collected from prophane history. Plato maintains that the original language of man was of divine formation; and when he divides words into two classes, the primitive and the derivative, he attributes the latter to the ingenuity of man, and the former to the immediate communication of the Supreme Being. The Egyptians, from whom this opinion was probably derived, maintained that by Thoth, the god of eloquence, their ancestors were at first taught to articulate.

To whatever part of the globe we direct our view, we shall find additional reasons to conclude, that all the languages now spoken in the world were derived orginally from one and the same source, notwithstanding their apparent difference and variety. When we remark certain words in Latin, that resemble others in Greek, we are not surprised, considering the intimate connexion which subsisted between the two nations, and the evident derivation of the former from the latter. It is natural to suppose that the modern tongues were derived from the ancient, which were spoken in the same country. Thus all the present languages and dialects of Europe, amounting to about twenty-seven, may be traced to the *Latin*, *Teutonic*, and *Sclavonian*. But when we observe that certain words used in one quarter of the

globe are like those in another which is very remote, and that such words have exactly the same signification, and were so used long before the present inhabitants had any intercourse with each other, how is this to be accounted for? And whence arises the affinity in some remarkable instances between the Greek and Hebrew, Greek and Sanscrit, Greek and Chinese, English and Arabic, Turkish and Celtic, Welsh and Arabic, Latin and Otaheitan, Latin and Turkish, and English and Persian?

I could show the coincidence in many points between Greek and Sanscrit, between the dialect of the Hebudes and the remote language of China: I could perhaps ascertain the existence of many Celtic and Egyptian words in China, which prove the ancient connexion between the original families of the earth, the immediate descendants of Japhet and Ham the Sons of Noah: but the limited nature of my plan makes it necessary to refer such of my readers as are desirous of pursuing this curious investigation, to the learned works of Sammes, Pezron, Junius, Skinner, and Parkhurst; —to Rowland's Mona, and Williams's Primitive Christianity.

This indentity or resemblance more or less exact of names which denote the same ideas, and those ideas some of the most striking and important to mankind in every age of society, seems to point to the same source. it seems highly probable therefore, that one original fountain of speech, and one only, has produced not only those various streams of diction, such as the Celtic, that have been long dried up; but supplied those likewise, such as the languages of modern Europe, that still continue to flow. Hence the accounts recorded by Moses of the primeval race of men speaking one language, and their subsequent dispersion in consequence of the confusion of tongues which took place at Babel, receives strong confirmation. These are facts which furnish the best reason for the uniformity we have noticed, and they could not, on any other principle, be accounted for, in a manner so satisfactory to reason, or so consistent with the tenor of ancient history.

Language kept pace with the progress of invention, and the cultivation of the mind urged mankind to the increase and improvement of the sounds, by which its dictates were communicated to the ear. From denoting the perceptions of sense, they proceeded to represent by words the instruments and operations of art, the flights of fancy, the deductions of reason, and the results of observation and experience.

Hence may be traced the progress of poetry, history, and philosophy. Thus oral expression, from being in its early age the child of necessity, became the parent of ornament; and words, originally the rude and uncouth dresses of ideas, have been improved, as society has advanced to higher degrees of refinement, into their most splendid and most beautiful decorations.

II. Origin and Progress of Letters.

To fix the fleeting sounds as soon as they are breathed from the lips, and to represent ideas faithfully to the eye as soon as they are formed in the mind, by certain determinate characters, are the wonderful properties of letters. Those to whom books have from their childhood been familiar, and who view literature only in its present advanced state of improvement, cannot form a just estimate of the difficulties that attended the first application of symbols or signs to the expression of ideas. The pictures of the Mexicans, and the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, were without doubt very ingenious devices, and mark the various efforts which human ingenuity can make towards expressing what passes in the mind, by objects of sight: but it comes not within the province of the art of painting to represent a succession of thoughts; and its operations are very tedious and circuitous; so that such a mode of information is very ill adapted to the activity and the variety of mental exertions. The great excellence of letters consists in their simplicity; by a small number of characters, repeated and variously combined, all words are expressed with equal precision and facility. They possess a decided advantage over all other artificial vehicles of thought, by communicating with the utmost ease the various conceptions of the mind. By their assistance in carrying on epistolary correspondence, the warm effusions of affection and friendship are conveyed even to the most remote countries; and the constant intercourse of commerce, science, and learning, is maintained in defiance of all the obstacles of distance. Learning is indebted to letters for its diffusion and continuance, and to them genius and virtue owe the rewards of lasting fame. Oral tradition is fleeting and uncertain: it is a stream, which, as it insensibly flows into the ocean of oblivion, is mixed with the impure soil of error and falsehood. But letters furnish the unsullied memorials of truth, and impart to successive generations the perfect records of knowledge. They constitute the light, glory, and

ornament of civilized man; and when the voice of the philosopher, the poet, and the scholar, and even the sacred words of the Redeemer of mankind himself, are heard no more, letters record the bright examples of virtue, and teach the inestimable lessons of science, learning, and revelation to every age, and to every people.

We cannot fail to observe the great variety in the modes of writing, which prevail in different parts of the world. Some nations, as the Chinese, place their letters perpendicularly, and write from the top to the bottom of the page. The greatest number have followed the movement of the hand from left to right, which to an European appears most natural and easy: accordingly all the western nations place their letters in this order. On the contrary, it was the prevailing custom of the East, particularly of the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Arabians, and Hebrews, to pursue the opposite practice, and write from right to left.

These various modes of arrangement may give some plausibility to the opinion, that each particular people were the inventors of their own alphabet. A presumption so favourable to national vanity has accordingly prevailed, as the Egyptians attributed the origin of their letters to Mercury, the Greeks to Cadmus, and the Latins to Saturn. This opinion arose from the high reputation acquired by those who first introduced, or made improvements in the graphic art. For it seems highly probable, that all the alphabets now known and used, were originally derived from one and the same source, and were brought, at various periods of time, into different countries.

Can any two sets of letters appear to the eye more dissimilar, than the *Hebrew* and the *English*? Yet it is highly probable, that the latter were derived from the former. And if we attend to the ingenious arguments of Bishop Warburton, we may carry the origin of letters higher than to the Jewish nation, and refer them to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. He states, upon the authority of ancient writers, that throughout many of the early ages of the world, there was a regular gradation of improvement in the manner of conveying ideas by signs—that pictures were first used as the representatives of thoughts, and in process of time alphabetical characters were substituted, as an easier and more compendious mode of communication, than the vague use of arbitrary marks. Divine Legation, v. ii, p. 387, &c. Moses the great lawgiver of the Jews, brought letters with the rest of his learning from Egypt; and he simplified their forms, in order to

prevent the abuse to which they would have been liable, as symbolical characters, among the people so much inclined to superstition as the Jews. From the Jews this alphabetical mode of writing passed to the Syrians and Phœnicians, or perhaps was common to them all at the same time. The Greek authors maintained that Cadmus and his Phœnician companions introduced the knowledge of letters into Greece. Herodotus records the curious fact that he saw at Thebes in Bœotia, in the temple of Apollo, three tripods inscribed with Cadmeian letters, which very much resembled the Ionic. It is too well known to require any detail of proof, that the Romans were taught their letters by the Greeks. Tacitus has remarked the similarity of the Roman character to the most ancient Greek, that is, the Pelasgic; and the same observation is made by Pliny, and confirmed by the inscription on an ancient tablet of brass, dedicated to Minerva. By the Romans their alphabet was communicated to the Goths, and the nations of modern Europe. And if the evidence to this detail of external proofs be wanted, the curious may furnish themselves with very sufficient arguments, in the authentic inscriptions of antiquity which time has spared, by considering attentively the order, the names, and the powers of the letters in the several alphabets just mentioned; and by examining in the learned works of Montfaucon, Shuckford, and Warburton, the characters themselves, how they have gradually been altered, and have deviated from the first forms through successive changes, previous to their assuming the shapes and figures under which they at present appear.*

III. Characteristic Distinctions between ancient and modern Languages.

The formation of the modern languages of Europe is intimately connected with the history of the dark ages. The Latin language began to be corrupted in the fifth century, as soon as the Goths and Lombards, both of whom derived their origin from Germany, had gained possession of Italy. From the reign of Theodoric and Athalaric, who laboured to soften the rough manners of the Goths by the refinements of learning, the Italian language gradually assumed its form and character; and its deviation from the Latin was particu-

* Stillingfleet, v. i, c. i, sect. 20. Shuckford's Connections, v. i, p. 223. Mitford, v. i, p. 88. Herodotus, l. v. Terpsich. sect. 58, 59, p. 306, edit. Gronov. Taciti Ann. l. xi. Plinii Nat. Hist. l. vii, c. lviii. Goguet's Origin of Laws, v. i, p. 177.

larly marked by the use of articles instead of the variations of cases, and of auxiliar verbs instead of many changes of tenses.

In proportion as the Goths made more successful and extensive ravages in the Roman empire, their phraseology was blended with that of their captives, and the coarse dialect of Provence and Sicily contributed many ingredients to the composition of the Italian language; in the same manner as the fusion of the precious and baser metals at the conflagration of Corinth is said to have produced the valuable mixture, which derives its name from that celebrated city. As in the features of the Italian ladies, the curious traveller may now discern a striking likeness of the faces engraved on antique gems; so in the language of that country he may discover a strong resemblance to the original from which it is derived. If it wants the strength and majesty of the Latin, it inherits that delicacy and melodious flow of expression, which never fail to charm every reader of taste, in the works of Dante, Ariosto, Petrarch, Machiavel, Algarotti, and Metastasio. It is the singular glory of Italy, that while the early poets and historians of France and England are become in a great measure obsolete, her writers, who flourished so early as the fourteenth century, are read with the fashionable authors of the present times, and share their popularity and applause.

In the fifth century, the Franks, a people of Germany, under the command of Pharamond, invaded France, and conquered its ancient inhabitants, the Celts and Romans. By a mixture of the dialect of these people the French language was formed, which gradually polished the rude expressions and uncouth phraseology observable in its first writers, has acquired in latter times a great degree of precision, delicacy, and elegance.

Between the languages of Greece and Rome, and those of modern times, a very remarkable difference prevails. The prepositions of the latter supply the place of the cases of the former; and as these prepositions are of a very abstract and general nature, they show the progress of the moderns in metaphysical reasoning. Auxiliary verbs are used instead of many of the ancient tenses: these forms of expression contribute greatly to simplify modern languages, in point of rudiments and first principles, and consequently render them more easy to be acquired. Still however they are subject to faults, which nearly counterbalance their excellence; for they are weaker in expression, less harmonious and agreeable to the ear, and, as the construction of the words necessarily

fixes them to particular situations in a sentence, they are less adapted to the uses of poetry.

Another very remarkable distinction prevails in *poetry*. Those effusions of fancy which the moderns express in rhyme, the ancients conveyed in metre. In the classic authors the quantity of words is fixed, the various combinations of long and short syllables give a pleasing variety to pronunciation, both in prose and verse, and render every word more distinct and harmonious to the ear. Rhyme was the invention of a dark and tasteless age, and is generally thought, when it predominates in the poetry of a language, as it does in the French, to indicate a want of strength and spirit. It is the glory of the English language to be capable of supporting blank verse; which the French, from its want of energy and vigour, cannot admit even in the tragic composition.

Rhyme is frequently the source of redundancy and feebleness of expression; as even among the most admired writers instances frequently occur of the sense being so much expanded, as to be on that account extremely weakened, because the poet is under the necessity of closing his couplets with corresponding sounds. The translation of Homer by Pope, and of Virgil by Dryden, afford striking proofs of the truth of this observation. The verbose passages in many of the finest tragedies of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, arise from the same cause. In rhyme the sense is usually closed with the first line, or at least with the second. This produces a tedious uniformity, which is particularly unpleasing to those, whose ears are accustomed to the varied periods of the classic authors. Rhyme appears not so well adapted to grand and long, as to gay and short compositions. Its perpetual repetition in the Henriade of Voltaire is tiresome: in the stanzas of the Fairy Queen of Spencer its recurrence, although stated and uniform, is more tolerable, because the pauses are more varied: but it certainly is of all compositions best suited to the lively turn of an epigram, and the ludicrous descriptions of a mock-heroic. As a proof how little rhyme can contribute to the essential beauties of poetry, those persons are esteemed the best readers, who pay the least regard to its regular and stated return, and attend only to such pauses, as the sense of an author naturally points out. This may be considered as no slight proof of the comparative excellence of good blank verse, and the ancient metrical compositions.

A wider and more accurate survey of nature, and a more diligent cultivation of art, by gradually opening new channels of knowledge, have increased the number of words. Hence we find, that the moderns excel the ancients in copiousness

of language upon many subjects, of which abundant instances occur in the terms which express certain metals, semimetals, earths, plants, animals, amusements, and recreations, various machines, implements, and materials employed in agriculture, navigation, and chemistry. In several branches of science, in addition to all that was before ascertained, discoveries have been made, which were entirely unknown in ancient times.

This greater extent and variety of knowledge result from the operations of the spirit of enterprize, and the diligent ardour of research, which have explored new paths, and improved upon former discoveries. But it may abate the triumph of the moderns to reflect, that much of their superior knowledge may be the natural consequence of living in the *later* ages of the world. Future generations, if they are active and inquisitive, will possess the same ascendency over the present; and the advancement of language will continue to be proportionate to the progress of the arts and sciences.

By tracing the variety of languages and alphabets to one source, we simplify subjects of curious inquiry; and we extricate ourselves from that perplexity, in which we should be involved, if we rejected an opinion so conformable to reason, and which the more accurate is our examination into ancient history, the more grounds we find to adopt. And it is a pleasing circumstance to observe, that while we maintain a system, supported by the most respectable profane authorities, we strengthen the arguments in favour of the *high antiquity* of the Jewish language, and corroborate, with respect to its origin, the relations of the *holy Scriptures*.

Our remarks likewise on the nature of language, both ancient and modern, and their comparative excellence and defects, may lead to many useful inquiries and reflections, as the progress of human knowledge is so closely connected with the subject. The art of writing has been the great means of enlightening the understanding, and softening the manners, and the great instrument of improving social life, and strengthening its ties. To consider the advantages, which the improvement of languages, and of this art has conferred upon mankind, would open a boundless field of observation. Our range of remark would be equally vague and unprofitable, if we were to indulge the pleasing speculation of enlarging upon the numerous languages which have been, or are now spoken in the most civilized parts of the world. It belongs to our plan to confine our attention to subjects of more obvious utility, and to consider those languages only, which interest us on account of the people to whom they be-

CHAPTER II.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THE impressions made by the conquerors who have settled in any particular nation are in few respects more clearly to be traced, than by the change they have produced in the language of the natives. This observation may be applied with peculiar propriety to our own country: for after the Saxons had subdued the Britons, they introduced into England their own language, which was a dialect of the Teutonic or Gothic. From the fragments of the Saxon laws, history, and poetry still extant, we have many proofs to convince us, that it was capable of expressing with a great degree of copiousness and energy the sentiments of a civilized people. For a period of six hundred years no considerable variation took place. William the Conqueror promoted another change of language, which had been begun by Edward the confessor, and caused the Norman French to be used, both in his own palace, and in the courts of justice; and it became in a short time current among all the higher orders of his subjects. The constant intercourse which subsisted between France and England for several centuries, introduced a very considerable addition of terms; and they were adopted with very slight deviation from their original, as is evident from the works of our early writers, particularly Chaucer, Gower, Wickliffe, and many other authors quoted by Warton in his curious and entertaining History of English Poetry. Such were the grand sources of the English tongue: but the stream has been from time to time augmented by the copious influx of the Latin and other languages, with which the pursuits of commerce, the cultivation of learning, and the progress of the arts, have made our ancestors and ourselves acquainted.

The same countries, which have supplied the English with improvements, have furnished the various terms by which they are denoted. Music, Sculpture, and painting, borrowed their expressions from Italy; the words used in navigation are taken from the inhabitants of Flanders and Holland; the French have supplied the expressions used in fortification and military affairs. The terms of mathematics and philosophy are borrowed from Latin and Greek. In the Saxon may be found all words of general use, as well as those which belong to agriculture, and the common mechanical arts.

But notwithstanding the English language can boast of so

little simplicity as to its origin, yet in its grammatical construction it bears a close resemblance to Hebrew, the most simple language of antiquity. Its words depart less from the original form, than those of any other modern tongues. In the substantives there is but one variation of case: and it is only by the different degrees of comparison, that changes are made in the adjectives. There is only one conjugation of the verbs, some of which indeed are not varied at all, and others have only two or three changes of termination. Almost all the modifications of time are expressed by auxiliary verbs; and the verbs themselves preserve in many instances very nearly, and in some cases exactly, their radical form in the different tenses. The discriminating powers of these auxiliary verbs are of great use in expressing the different moods. The article possesses a striking peculiarity, differing from that in most other languages, for it is indeclinable, and common to all genders. This simplicity of structure renders our language much easier to a learner than Italian or French, in which the variations of the verbs in particular are very numerous, complex, and difficult to be retained.

The English language is uniform in its composition, and its irregularities are far from being numerous. The distinctions in the genders of nouns are agreeable to the nature of things, and are not applied with that caprice, which prevails in many other languages. The order of construction is more easy and simple, than that of Latin and Greek; it has no genders of adjectives, nor any gerunds, supines, or variety of conjugations. These peculiarities give it a philosophical character; and as its terms are strong, expressive, and copious, no language seems better calculated to facilitate the intercourse of mankind, as a universal medium of communication.

Since the Grammars of Lowth and Priestly, and the Dictionary of Johnson have been published, our language has been brought nearer to a fixed standard. It is now considered, more than ever, as an object of grammatical rules, and regular syntax. Its idioms are more accurately ascertained by a comparison of passages selected from the best authors. The derivations are traced from their original sources with greater precision; and its orthography is now more reduced to settled rules. To the labours of *Johnson* as a *Lexicographer*, our nation is under great obligations; and if he has in some instances failed in diligence of research, or extent of plan, we must at least be ready to allow, that he has contributed more than any of his countrymen towards the elucida-

tion of his subject; he has given his definitions of words with great clearness, and confirmed them by a detail of quotations from the best authors. There is perhaps no book, professedly written upon a philological subject that can give to foreigners as well as natives, so just and advantageous an idea of our language, or of the variety and excellence of our writers; the Preface to his Dictionary is a most accurate and deservedly admired composition.

The derivation of English words, as far as it relates to Latin and Greek, has been frequently and satisfactorily traced: but those which are of Saxon origin were a long time prevalent without sufficient investigation. The author of the "Diversions of Purley" (P. 185, &c.), whose natural acuteness and turn for metaphysical research peculiarly qualified him for such a task, has directed his attention to the subject; and the ingenious theory which he has formed, respecting the origin of the indeclinable parts of speech, was remarkably confirmed by his knowledge of Saxon. He has proved very clearly, that many of our adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions, which are commonly thought to have no signification, when detached from other words, are derived from obsolete verbs, or nouns, the meaning of which they respectively retain; but which have been shortened for general convenience, and corrupted by length of time. Such a discovery is valuable, not only on account of the light it throws upon those parts of our language which have been too slightly regarded by all former grammarians; but for the assistance it affords to the science of etymology in general.

Dr. Johnson has declaimed against *translations* as the bane of language: but Warton has observed, in the "History of English Poetry," on the contrary, that our language derived great benefits from the translations of the classics in the sixteenth century. This difference of opinion may probably be reconciled, by supposing that these writers advert to the state of a language at different periods of time. When it is in its dawn of improvement, as was the case when the translations of the classics were first made into English, the addition of foreign terms may be requisite to keep pace with the influx of new ideas. In a more advanced period of arts and civilization, such an increase is not only unnecessary, but may be injurious; and the practice seems as needless, as the introduction of foreign troops for the defence of a country, when the natives alone are sufficient for its protection.

I. Beauties of the English Language.

A language, which has been so much indebted to others, both ancient and modern, must of course be very copious and expressive. In these respects perhaps it may be brought into competition with any now spoken in the world. No Englishman has had reason to complain, since our tongue has reached its present degree of excellence, that his ideas could not be adequately expressed, or clothed in a suitable dress. No author has been under the necessity of writing in a foreign language, on account of its superiority to our own. Whether we open the volumes of our divines, philosophers, historians, or artists, we shall find that they abound with all the terms necessary to communicate their observations and discoveries, and give to their readers the most complete views of their respective subjects. Hence it appears, that our language is sufficiently capacious for all purposes, and can give proper and adequate expression to variety of argument, delicacy of taste, and fervour of genius. And that it has sufficient copiousness to communicate to mankind every action, event, invention and observation, in a full, clear, and elegant manner, we can prove by an appeal to the authors, who are at present most admired and esteemed.

But its excellence is perhaps in few respects displayed to such advantage, as in the productions of our poets. Whoever reads the works of Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, will be sensible that they employ a kind of phraseology which may be said to be sacred to the Muses. It is distinguished from prose, not merely by the harmony of numbers, but by the great variety of its appropriate terms and phrases. A considerable degree of beauty results likewise from the different measures employed in poetry. The *Allegro* and *Penseroso* of Milton, *Alexander's feast* by Dryden, the *Ode to the passions* by Collins, and the *Bard* of Gray, are as complete examples of versification, judiciously varied, according to the nature of the subjects, as they are specimens of exquisite sentiment and original genius.

One of the most beautiful figures in poetry is the *Prosopopoeia*, or personification, which ascribes personal qualities and actions to inanimate and fictitious beings. The genius of our language enables the English poet to give the best effect to this figure, as the genders of nouns are not arbitrarily imposed, but may be varied according to the nature of the subject. Thus the poet can establish the most striking dis-

tinction between verse and prose, and communicate to his descriptions that spirit and animation, which cannot fail to delight every reader of taste, in the following passages.

Thus Collins, in his ode on Thomson, who was buried at Richmond, in a train of imagery at once beautiful and original, declares, that—

" Remembrance oft shall *haunt* the shore
When Thames in summer wreaths is drest,
And oft *suspend* the dashing oar,
To *bid* his gentle spirit rest."

Milton thus personifies Wisdom,

———" Wisdom's self
Oft *seeks* to sweet retired solitude,
Where with her best nurse Contemplation,
She *plumes* her feathers, and *lets grow* her wings,
That in the various bustle of resort,
Were all too ruffled, and sometimes impaired."
Paradise Lost.

And Warton describes the advance of Evening:

" While Evening *veil'd* in shadows brown
Puts her matron mantle on,
And mists in spreading streams convey
More fresh the fumes of new-mown hay;
Then Goddess guide my pilgrim feet
Contemplation hoar to meet,
As slow *he winds* in museful mood,
Near the rush'd marge of Cherwell's flood."
Warton's Ode on the Approach of Summer.

But the fullest display of this figure occurs in the Fairy Queen of Spenser, which abounds in the continued personification of abstract ideas.

We must however acknowledge, that it is chiefly to grave subjects—to the details of the historian, the arguments of the politician and the divine, the speculations of the philosopher, and the invention of the epic and the tragic poet, that our expressions are best adapted. Our language has energy and copiousness; but it accords not so well with the mirth of the gay, or the pathos of the distressed, as some others. In describing the pleasantries of the mind, in the effusions of delicate humour, and the trifling levities of social intercourse, the French possess a decided advantage. In delineating the tender passions, the soothing of pity, and the ardour of love, we must yield the superiority to the softer cadence of Italian syllables.

II. Defects of the English Language.

Although it is natural to indulge a partiality to our native language, as well as to our native soil; yet this prepossession

ought not to make us blind to the defects either of the one or the other. We shall only advert to the principal imperfections of the language. Most of the words, except such as are of Roman or Grecian origin, are monosyllables terminated by consonants; and this makes our pronunciation rugged and broken, and unlike the regular and easy flow of classic phraseology. Many of them are harsh and inharmonious; and there are some syllables, which can scarcely be pronounced by an Italian or Frenchman, whose organs of speech are habituated to softer expressions. "It is to the terminations with consonants that the harshness of our language may be imputed. The melody of a language depends greatly upon its vowel terminations. In English not more than a dozen common words end in *a*: about two dozen end in *o*. In *y* we have no less than 4900 words, about an eighth of our language; our words amounting to about 35,000. Heron's letters, p. 247.

The want of different terminations in verbs, as it introduces the frequent use of auxiliary verbs, too frequently obliges us to express our meaning by circumlocutions. There is no distinction in the persons of the plural number of verbs, nor in the tenses of persons of the passive voice. This is oftentimes the cause of ambiguity; and foreigners, in the perusal of our books, must be very much at a loss, without the closest attention to the preceding and subsequent parts of sentences, to understand the particular sense of many passages. Our accents are calculated to give considerable variety to pronunciation; but the prevailing mode of throwing them back, in some cases, to the first syllable of a word, in a great degree destroys their use; and gives an indistinct, hurried, and almost unintelligible sound to the other syllables. None of the modern languages of Europe are so strongly marked by accents as our own. Their peculiar advantage is evident in poetry, as we are enabled to support the varied numbers of blank verse; and this circumstance gives us a decided superiority over the French. Zealous as some authors have been to establish the excellence of English with respect to quantity, and to prove that it is in itself harmonious and musical, we must, after all their ingenious arguments, be obliged to leave to the Greeks and Latins the regular and uniform distinctions of long and short syllables; for although there are many of our words which we can affirm to be long or short; yet a great number of them cannot be said to be of any determinate quantity. Warton on Pope. Vol I, p. 305.

The mode of *spelling* appears to have been in former times extremely vague and unsettled. It is not uncommon to find in our old writers the same word spelt differently, even in the same page. Orthography began to be more an object of attention, and was rescued from its great uncertainty, at the beginning of the last century. Yet authors of considerable eminence have differed much from each other in their modes of spelling some particular words, and have adjusted their practice to their own ideas of propriety. This has given a very stiff and pedantic appearance to their writings. Nor has the influence of their authority had any effect upon the prevailing customs, or rescued them from the imputation of singularity and affectation. Dr. Lardner was desirous of reviving the old mode of spelling in some instances, as in *goodnesse, forgivenesse*, &c. Benson, a commentator on St. Paul's Epistles, wrote *præface, præfix, prævail, procede, persue*, and *explane*, like Lardner. Dr. Middleton, a more elegant writer, attempted similar innovations; and Upton, the learned commentator on Shakspeare, tires his readers by the repetitions of the word *tast* for the substantive taste.

Our orthography remained in this fluctuating state, till at length what was the general wish, what many had attempted in vain, and what seemed to require the united efforts of numbers, was accomplished by the diligence and the acuteness of one man. "Dr. Johnson published his Dictionary; and as the weight of truth and reason is irresistible, its authority has nearly fixed the external form of our language, and from its decisions few appeals have yet been made. Indeed so convenient is it to have one acknowledged standard to recur to—so much preferable, in matters of this nature, is a trifling degree of irregularity to a continual change, and fruitless pursuit of unattainable perfection, that it is earnestly to be hoped, that no author will henceforth on slight grounds be tempted to innovate. Dr. Johnson is every where the declared enemy of unnecessary innovation. The principles on which he founds his improvements are the stable ones of etymology and analogy: the former science will not soon be more completely understood than it was by him; and if in the latter a few steps may have been made beyond the limits of his observation, they have been gained only by the pursuit of minute researches, inconsistent with the greatness of his undertaking." Nares's Orthoepy, p. 269.

It is the opinion of this learned Lexicographer, that as we received many of our words originally of Latin derivation, through the medium of the French, we ought to follow the

latter mode of spelling in preference to the former. Good as this general rule may be thought, there are some exceptions, which in compliance with prevailing custom he readily admits himself. "The rule required him to write *en*quire. from the French enquerir, not *in*quire. The termination in *our* is one of those which has created much dispute. At present the practice seems to favour the rejection of *u* in all words of more than two syllables. Johnson spells auth*or* without a final u, but always writes hono*ur* and favo*ur*. Nares, p. 276.

It may be laid down as a *general rule*, that the most judicious attention that can be paid to orthography, must necessarily consist in distinguishing those irregularities which are inherent *in the language itself*, from those introduced by the *capricious*, the *fashionable*, and the *ignorant*.

The preceding observations have chiefly related to words considered by themselves. It may be proper, in the next place to make some remarks upon our composition, or the arrangement and connexion of words, as they constitute sentences. In this respect all modern languages fall short of the ancient, which are distinguished by a peculiar roundness, harmony, and compass of period. The Greeks and Romans, by having different genders and terminations of their verbs and nouns, gave a precision to their meaning, which enabled them to diversify the order of construction, in an infinite variety of modes, without any injury to the general sense. Of this advantage our language is in a great degree incapable, by reason of the simplicity of its structure. It will indeed admit of the transposition of the members of a sentence; but the transposition of words, except in poetry, seems to be contrary to its genius. Our words in general are placed in the natural order of construction; and to this standard we endeavour to reduce both our literal and free translations of Greek and Latin authors: in the works of our writers we seek in vain for that condenseness of ideas, for those close and connected parts of a sentence, and that judicious position of the principal idea in the most advantageous place, which have so striking an effect in the composition of the classics.

III. Sir T. Browne—Dr. Johnson—Mr. Gibbon.

The cultivation of the learned languages, since the reign of Henry VIII has introduced many words of Latin origin into the conversation and the writings of the Englsih. The attention paid to Italian literature, particularly in the reign of

Elizabeth, contributed to increase their number. In the works of Shakspeare we find many such words; and those, which his imperfect knowledge of Latin and Greek did not afford him the opportunity of taking immediately from the classics, he probably borrowed from the same translations, which furnished many of his plots, speeches and characters.* Yet he seems to have considered the too free admission of this strange phraseology as an object of occasional censure, and has therefore exposed it to ridicule with great effect in the ludicrous characters of Holofernes and Pistol. The dramatic productions of Ben Jonson, his contemporary, are much more strongly marked by these exotic conceits. But of all our writers of those times no one seems to have been so ambitious of the stiff and pompous decorations of latinised style, as Sir Thomas Browne, the author of "the Vulgar Errors." His sentences are so replete with words, which differ only from Latin in their terminations, that he is entitled to the first place in the school of pedantry. It is very extraordinary, that the force of his own observation, which was levelled against those who indulged in this practice, recoils with the greatest force upon himself. "If elegancie still precedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall within few years be fain to learne Latine to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either." Preface to the Vulgar Errors.

The affected structure of his style is apparent even from the first sentence of the above mentioned work. "Would truth dispense, we could be content with Plato, that knowledge were but remembrance, that intellectual acquisition were but reminiscential evocation, &c." That many of his words may be translated into Latin with little more than a change in their terminations, the following passages will show. "Scintillations are not the accension of the air upon the collision of two hard bodies, but rather the inflammable effluences discharged from the bodies collided." "Ice is figured in its guttulous descent from the air, and grows greater or lesser according unto the acrcesion or pluvious aggelation about the mother and fundamental atoms thereof." P. 40, 41.

There is sufficient reason to suppose that Dr. Johnson formed his style upon the model of Sir T. Browne. He has written his life; has quoted in his Dictionary many of his

* For a very curious List of these Translations, see Farmer's Essay on the learning of Shakspeare.

words, unsupported by any other authority; and perhaps in his works it would not be difficult to trace some marks of direct imitation.

Between the opinions and the practice of Johnson there is a striking inconsistency; for in the Preface to his Dictionary, he regrets that our language had been for some time gradually departing from its ancient Teutonic character; and yet in his works, particularly in the Rambler, he promotes this departure in the most studious manner. From the writer of an English Dictionary might naturally be expected a close adherence to idiom; and that he would mark the line of distinction very strongly between such words and phrases as were unsupported by sufficient authority, and such as had been fully sanctioned by the usage of the best authors. And from a writer, whose professed purpose it was to recommend the beauties of moral truth to the different ranks of the public at large, and render topics of criticism intelligible and popular, we should expect few modes of expression, which are pedantic or affected. Whether we consider the nature of his essays, or the general use for which they were intended, it must be evident, that such subjects call for peculiar perspicuity of expression. Johnson seems to have judged the style of Addison more worthy of praise, than proper for his imitation.* Our literature indeed dates a new era from the publication of his works: and some of the words he uses, if they were not of his own coining, are rarely to be met with in former writers.† By endeavouring to avoid low and familiar expressions, he is frequently lofty and turgid; and to a reader unacquainted with the learned languages, must sometimes be wholly unintelligible. His new modes of expression, involution of periods, frequent use of the substantive instead of the adjective, and stated introduction of triads, are peculiarities, if not innovations, which have drawn after him a train of imitators. Some of them are indeed entitled to praise on account of their possessing sufficient judgment to keep their style in constant subserviency to their thoughts;

* "Whoever wishes to acquire a style which is familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." "*Life of Addison.*"

† I allude to such words as *Resuscitation, orbity, fatuity, divaricate, asinine, narcotic, vulnerary, empireumatic, obtund, disruption, crematian, horticulture, germination, decussation, eximious, &c.*

Where did T. Warton find such words as *doctorated, fugacious;* or Bolingbroke such as *incumbrement, martyried, eucharisty, connexity, platonician, stoician;* or Shaftesbury such compounds as *self-end, self-passion, home-dialect,* and *mirrour-writing;* or Arthur Young his expressive term *acclimated?*

and others have exposed themselves to ridicule by the ludicrous association of pompous words with feeble and trite ideas.

If our subject required us to weigh the general merits of this celebrated author, as well as to remark the peculiarities of his style, we should readily concur in the commendation bestowed upon his transcendent abilities, and acknowledge, that the energy of his language was oftentimes a sufficient apology for his elaborate pomp; and that our censure must in some degree abate its severity, when we consider the force and the discrimination of his terms, the correctness, variety, and splendor of his imagery, the power of his understanding, his love of virtue and religion, and his zeal for their promotion, so extremely well adapted to the different characters he sustained in the literary world as a moralist, a philologist, and a critic.

In the course of our remarks upon this subject, Gibbon, the historian of "the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," claims some share of our attention. It is a great misfortune for the public, and particularly for the younger part of his readers, considering the great popularity of his works, that he has concealed the poison of infidelity under a honied sweetness of style. Skilled in all the arts of declamation, and studious to please and to amuse us at the expense of correctness of taste, he has confounded the diction of a *poet* with that of an *historian*. And his arrangement of sentences is frequently so much alike, and they are formed in so mechanical a manner, that they seem to have been constructed according to one particular rule. Although many of his characters are finely drawn, and many of his descriptions are lively and beautiful; yet his verboseness frequently fatigues the attention, and his obscurity perplexes it. He endeavours, and often with unsuccessful pains, to give dignity to trifles, and to adorn every subject, whether trivial or important, with the flowery ornaments of description. In various instances he must offend the judgment of those who wish to see the different kinds of composition confined within their due limits, and more particularly expect, that an historian should not depart, either in point of dignity of character, or propriety of expression, from the rules of correct composition. A careful reader of Gibbon will observe, that his affectation oftentimes renders his meaning very obscure; that he deviates from the genius of our language by the frequent transposition of the members of his sentences, and by using words in new and unauthorised senses; by borrowing French ornaments of style, and by sometimes adopting the French idiom.

It is not easy to estimate how much the Scotch writers have contributed to the value and the importance of literature. In the various departments of Poetry, Criticism, History, Philosophy, and Science, they have exerted themselves with no less diligence than talents. We should deservedly be regarded as too fastidious and rigid, if we were to criticise their mode of expression with too much severity. We may however be allowed to observe, that their *first* publications are often marked by those Scotticisms, or national peculiarities, which are in succeeding editions expunged. Hume, Robertson, and Blair, by careful revisions have refined and polished their works, which have very high pretensions to occupy a place next to that of the English classics.

We are the more desirous of pointing out the defects of Johnson and Gibbon on account of their great reputation. We ought not to be dazzled with the splendour of their names; and as we are ready to give due praise to their beauties, it cannot fairly be required that we should palliate, or conceal their defects.

If writers will contribute to make our language unnecessarily more parti-coloured and motley than it was before; if they deliberately add to its corruptions, and hasten its decline, they are just objects of censure; and unless their deviations from its idiom be remarked and avoided, how can the distinction between a pure and a vitiated style be preserved? Without attention to some rules, without a proper discrimination between bad and good models, the language will degenerate, and the sterling ore of the English tongue will finally lose its value, its weight, and its lustre, by being mixed with foreign words and idioms, and the alloy of learned affectation.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

CHAPTER III.

OUR language ought to be considered not only with a view to its grammatical propriety, but as a subject of taste. In order to avoid the errors of those who have been led astray by affectation and false refinement, and to form a proper opinion of its genuine idiom, it is necessary to peruse the works of the best and most approved writers.

In the various departments of religion, history, poetry, and

general literature, we will endeavour to point out some writers of the purest English—but without any wish to detract from the merits of those, whom the limited nature of our work, and not an insensibility or an ignorance of their merit, may make it necessary for us to omit.

Let the reader commence his studies with those who were most distinguished in the reign of Elizabeth, when the language began to be refined from its original roughness, assumed a fuller form, and was marked by more distinct features; and let him pursue his progress down to the present times. Nor ought he to be deterred from this design by an apprehension, that he will find the old authors clothed in the garb of rude and uncouth antiquity; for he will make the pleasing discovery, that the language of his forefathers differs little from his own, in point of structure and formation, and the general meaning of words.

The *Substance* of a language remains for ages unaltered, however the influx of new customs, and the inventions or the improvements of arts, may occasion some addition to its terms, and some change in its orthography and pronunciation. Shakspeare will of course attract his early attention; and he will find in his incomparable dramas such an accommodation of style to the grave and the gay, the rough and the polished, the heroic and the vulgar characters of his plays, as shows that our language was sufficiently strong and copious to be a proper vehicle for the conceptions of his vast and wonderful genius. The works of Speed, Ascham, Raleigh, Clarendon, and Temple, are highly to be valued for the vigour and compass of their diction, as well as the display of extensive knowledge and eminent abilities. The common translation of the Bible, exclusive of the important nature of its contents, deserves great attention. The nature and compass of its phraseology are such, as prove no less the powers of the language, than the correct judgment of the translators. The words are for the most part elegant and expressive, and convey the sublime ideas of the original, without coarseness or familiarity on the one hand, or pedantry and affectation on the other. The manly and dignified prose, and the rich and sublime poetry of Milton, far from being degraded or fettered, are exalted and adorned by their style; and it was his peculiar glory, to apply with consummate taste and skill the flowing and unshackled periods of blank verse, to the majesty of an epic poem. The increasing tribute of praise has in every age subsequent to his own been paid to the stores of his vast erudition, and the flights of his transcendent genius.

In the reign of Charles II the reader will find no author more worthy of his attention than Barrow, whose periods are so full and exuberant, as to give no inadequate representation of the eloquence of Cicero. He exhausts every subject which he undertakes to discuss, leaving nothing but admiration of the boundless fertility of his mind, to the writers who follow him upon the same topics. They display to the greatest advantage the energy of his intellectual powers, employed upon the most important subjects of morality and religion.

The great Locke, in a plain and severe style, well adapted to the philosophical precision of his researches, unravelled the intricacies of the most interesting branch of philosophy by tracing ideas to their source, and developing the faculties of the mind. In the illustrious reign of Anne, when Britain reached a degree of glory in literature and arts, which might be put in competition with the age of Pericles, or Augustus; Swift in clear and familiar diction, unaided by flowery ornaments, expressed the dictates of a strong understanding, and lively invention. Addison, the accomplished scholar, the refined critic, and the enlightened moralist, like another Socrates, brought moral philosophy from the schools, arrayed her in the most engaging dress, and called the attention of his countrymen to taste and to virtue, in his elegant and entertaining essays. The prefaces of Dryden are marked by the ease and the vivacity of genius; and there is a facility in his rhymes, and a peculiar vigour in his poetry, which render him justly the boast of our country. Pope composed his prefaces and letters with peculiar grace and beauty of style; and his poems present the finest specimens of exquisite judgment, adorned by the most harmonious and polished versification.

The works of Melmoth, particularly his letters and translations of Cicero and Pliny, are remarkable for smoothness and elegance of composition. The Lectures of Sir Joshua Reynolds illustrate the principles of his delightful art, in a manner no less creditable to him as a fine writer, than as an eminent painter, and connoisseur. The sacred discourses of the amiable Horne recommend the duties of that holy religion, of which he was so bright an ornament, in a sweet and lively style. The manly vigour of Bishop Watson diffuses its animation through all his works, whether philosophical, controversial, or religious. And where can we find compositions, which unite the politeness of the gentleman with the attainments of the scholar, blended in juster proportions, than in the Polymetis of Spence, the Athenian Letters, the

Dialogues of Lord Littleton and Bishop Hurd, and the papers of the Adventurer, and the Observer?

These are some of the principal sources, from which may be derived a proper knowledge of the purity, the strength, and the copiousness of the English language. Such are the examples by which our style ought to be regulated. In them may be remarked the idiomatic structure of sentences, and the proper arrangements of their parts. They present specimens of purity without stiffness, and elegance without affectation; they are free both from pomp and vulgarity of diction, and their authors have the happy art of pleasing our taste, while they improve our understandings, and confirm our principles of morality and religion.

In the course of this perusal it will be found, that in proportion as the great controversies upon religion, politics, and philosophy, began to subside since the time of the Revolution, a greater attention has been paid to the niceties of grammar and criticism; and coarse and barbarous phraseology has been gradually polished into propriety and elegance.

As the practice of writing for public inspection has been much improved since the period above mentioned a remarkable change has taken place. The long parenthesis, which so frequently occurs in the older writers, to the great embarrassment and perplexity of their meaning, has fallen much into disuse. It has been observed that it is no where to be found in the writings of Johnson. Authors have shortened their sentences, which, in some of the best writers of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth century, were extended to an excessive length: and they have stated their thoughts to much more advantage by separating them from each other, and expressing them with greater distinctness. Whether this circumstance may not argue a want of fertility of ideas, and a tardiness of conception, it is not our business to inquire. The custom of writing in short sentences must be allowed to detract from roundness of period, and dignity of composition: but it certainly contributes so materially to perspicuity, which is the prime excellence of style, that it cannot fail to make every reader satisfied with the change.

I. Conversation and Pronunciation.

Our remarks have been generally applied to the English, considered as a written language: but books have a much more extensive use than merely to regulate the practice of writers; for they are calculated to correct the errors of conversation, and communicate both accuracy and purity to

social intercourse. There will always be less variation of speech prevailing among the natives of different provinces, and less vulgarity of dialect, in proportion as well written books are circulated and perused. But the standard of the language ought always to continue the same; it should consist in a compliance with general rules, and the practice of the polished ranks of society. Such regulations at once rescue it from the caprice of individuals, and establish a barrier against the encroachments of commercial idiom, professional phraseology, vulgarity, ignorance and pedantry.

The correct speaker rejects local and provincial forms of expression, for those which are general. He converses neither in the dialect of Somersetshire, nor of Norfolk; but in that elegant phraseology which has received the sanction of the best company. He neither countenances by his approbation, nor authorises by his practice, new fashioned phrases, or upstart words, that have only novelty to recommend them; whether they are introduced by the great or the vulgar, the learned or the ignorant. Upon these occasions a good taste will prove the surest guide. He conforms to idiom and analogy; and at the same time that he confesses his obligations to learned men for their labours in attempting to reduce his native language to a fixed standard, he forgets not, what it is of great importance for an Englishman ever to recollect, that the "pure wells of English undefiled" are supplied by a Teutonic source; and that the genius of the British language disdains to be encroached upon by arbitrary and foreign innovations.

Those who write only for the present times labour to adorn their style with modish phrases. A popular speaker, and particularly a member of the House of Commons, enjoys a kind of privilege to coin as many words as he pleases; and they no sooner receive the sanction of his authority than they intrude upon us from every quarter in letters, plays, and periodical publications. But such words resemble the flies that are seen sporting in the sun only for a day, and afterwards appear no more. The people of fashion, ever fickle and fond of novelty, are as prompt to reject as they were to adopt them; and they seldom long survive the occasion that gave them birth.

> In words, as fashions, the same rule will hold,
> Alike fantastic, if too new or old.
> Be not the first by whom the new are try'd,
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.
>
> Pope's Essay on Criticism.

speak even a sentence of elegant English; so that when a scholar is engaged in studying the Latin, he is in fact making himself a more perfect master of his own language. It is equally useful, if he wishes to acquire the French, the Italian, and the Spanish, as it constitutes so material a part of those elegant tongues. It is the prolific mother of many children; and whatever difference may prevail among them with respect to the various countries, in which they are settled, or the foreign alliances they have formed, they discover the parent from which they sprung, by the most striking similarity of features.*

Considered with respect to its *origin*, the Latin language derived many words from the Etruscans and Sabines: it is however, for the most part, a very ancient branch of the Greek, and is chiefly formed from the Doric and Eolic dialects. A colony of Arcadians under Enotrus are said to have introduced it into Italy many centuries before the Trojan war. As it was separated from the mother tongue at so very early a period, it was deficient in that melody and sweetness which the other dialects acquired, when Greek afterwards reached its greatest perfection.

Not only innumerable terms, but the ancient forms of the Roman letters, prove the origin of the language to have been Grecian. From the same source it derived progressive improvements. The first Latin poets, Pacuvius, Ennius, and Plautus, modelled their works upon the Grecian plan, as is particularly evident from their frequent use of compound words. As soon as the art of public speaking began to be cultivated in Rome, the Greek language, which contained some of the richest treasures of eloquence, became a favourite object of pursuit; and Athens was frequented by the Roman youth of fortune and family, as the best and most approved seminary of education. The attention which was paid to the productions of Greece by the Romans when advancing towards refinement, sufficiently marks the high estimation in which their literature was held. Cato, the celebrated Censor, at a late period of life learned the elements of that language; and Pompey, as a mark of distinguished respect to a Greek philosopher, lowered his consular fasces to Posidonius the sophist, whom he visited in his school at Rhodes. Greece was to Rome, what Egypt had been in more remote times to Greece, the fruitful parent of her literature and arts.

The Latin yields the superiority to the Greek language, not only with regard to melody of sound, but compass of

* This observation applies to the Spanish and Italian languages.

expression. It has no dual number, and has only one tense to denote the past perfect, which does not express whether the action still continues to be carried on: but the Greek can express this equally by the preterperfect, and the aorist. The Latin has not a past participle active: whereas in Greek there are two, namely, the participle of aorist, and the preterperfect. It wants likewise a present participle passive, which reduces writers to great inconvenience, and occasions much awkwardness and uncertainty of expression. It is deficient in a middle voice, and an optative mood, marked by a peculiar termination, to distinguish it from the subjunctive.

It is not easy to give a satisfactory reason why the Romans did not, in imitation of the Greeks, introduce *the article* into their language. This is one of its striking defects. The importance of the article in fixing the meaning of a word to a precise idea will appear from the following, or any similar instance. Suppose in Latin the words *Filius Regis* to occur in any author: Do they mean *a* son of *a* King, *the* son of *a* King, or *the* son of *the* King? each of which expressions conveys a very different idea. The exact sense of Filius Regis must entirely depend upon the context; as the expression is in itself vague and indefinite. The modern languages of Europe have the advantage over the Latin in this part of speech, however inferior they may be to it in other respects.

In the different inflections and terminations of words, as well as in the delicate and pleasing denominations of objects by diminutives, Greek and Latin bear a strong resemblance to each other. The Latin possesses the advantage of compound words, but in a degree that will hardly admit of comparison with the Greek. It is equally happy in denoting by particular verbs the frequent repetition or commencement of actions; and it is more accurate in its power of expressing certain modifications of time by gerunds and supines.

With respect to composition, the productions of the Latin classics are ranked next in order of excellence to those of the Greek. The polished writers of Rome, disdaining to follow the plain and inartificial manner of their older authors, imitated the varied pauses and harmonious flow of Grecian periods. The choice of arrangement allowed them by the happy genius of their language, produced a remarkable difference between the familiar and the former style. In his Epistles and Satires, Horace is careless and easy: in his Odes he indulges in more flowing and more complex periods. Cicero in his letters is loose and negligent; but in many of

his Orations and philosophical works, he is more exact in his construction of words, and more studiously correct.

In one kind of arrangement the Romans were inferior to their great masters, as they so frequently terminated their sentences with verbs. This practice sometimes runs through several sentences together, with no small degree of tiresome uniformity; as is evident from many passages in the history of Livy, the Orations of Cicero, and the Commentaries of Cæsar. In defence however of this custom it may be remarked, that as the action expressed by the verb is frequently the most emphatic idea, it might be thought most consistent with the genius of their composition, to place it at the close of the period, for the purpose of more effectually keeping up the attention of the hearer or reader.

From considering the beauties of composition so conspicuous in the works of the classic authors, we must be sensible of the unfavourable light, in which they appear when viewed through the medium of *translations*. They are exposed to the vanity, the negligence, or the ignorance of the translator; and are liable to be injured by his fastidiousness, or his want of taste. The sense of an original work may be debased by servile fidelity of version, or enervated by unrestrained freedom of expression; it may be dilated into a commentary, or compressed into an abridgment.

Sometimes a translator flatters himself he can improve upon his original, as is attempted in the following instance. Virgil describes Venus after her appearance to Æneas as visiting Paphos:

> ——"Ubi templum illi, centumque Sabæo
> Thure calent aræ, sertisque recentibus halant."

For which a French translator substitutes these lines:

> *Dan ce Temple ou toujours quelque amant irrité,*
> *Accuse dans ses vœux quelque jeune beauté."*

Because he thinks this description is more characteristic of the Temple of Venus than that given by Virgil, which he says will apply equally well to the Temples of other Deities. Had he understood the spirit of the passage, and known that as blood was never shed upon the altar of the Paphian goddess, its *peculiar* ornaments were garlands of flowers, he might have spared himself the pains of endeavouring to *improve* upon Virgil. Dryden has sometimes taken the liberty of substituting one image for another in his Translation of

Virgil, but with singular propriety and spirit. Take for instance the beautiful apostrophe to Nisus and Euryalus:

> O happy friends! for if my verse can give
> Immortal life, your fame shall ever live,
> Fix'd as the Capitol's foundation lies,
> *And spread where'er the Roman Eagle flies.**

"Dryden saw that closeness best preserved an Author's sense, and that freedom best exhibited his spirit. He therefore will deserve the highest praise, who can give a representation at once faithful and pleasing, who can convey the same thoughts with the same graces, and who, when he translates, changes nothing but the language." Johnson's Idler, No. 69.

But after all, may we not apply to translations, the remark made by Philip of Macedon to a person who prided himself upon imitating the notes of the nightingale? *I prefer the nightingale herself.*

The defects and difficulties of the translator are increased by the inferiority of his language. The classics are characterised by a native elegance and dignity of thought, a peculiar precision of style, a copious flow of period, and a regular construction of sentence: in addition to which their poetical works are adorned with the harmony of numbers, and the various beauties of metrical versification. The modern languages possess some of these beauties in an inferior degree, and of others they are totally destitute. If therefore the flowers of eloquence and poetry, which bloom in the fields of Cicero and Virgil, be transplanted into a less genial soil, and a colder climate, their vigour declines, and they lose the brightness of their colours, and the richness of their fragrance.

The fragments of the annals of the pontiffs, and the laws of the Twelve tables, are sufficient to prove the rude and imperfect state of the Latin language, during the early times of the republic. Two of the first historians of Rome composed their works in Greek: and even Brutus the contemporary of Cicero, wrote his epistles in the same language. That great orator wrote a Greek commentary on his own consulship; and his friend Atticus produced a similar work upon the same subject. The Latin was not only for a considerable time an unpolished, but a defective language. Its poverty of ex-

* "Fortunati ambo, si quid mea carmina possint!
Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo,
Dum domus Æneæ Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet, *imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit.*"

pression was a subject of complaint, as soon as it began to be regularly studied. Cicero and Lucretius were sensible of the want of terms adapted to Philosophical topics. Even the names of physics, dialectics, and rhetoric, were unknown before the former of these authors introduced them into his works; and the latter laments that his native tongue was not calculated to communicate, with adequate strength and copiousness of expression, the wonders and the beauties of Grecian philosophy. Its defects were not so great, when applied to subjects more congenial to the manners of the Romans. From their constant occupations in domestic and foreign wars for many centuries, their language took a deep and peculiar tincture, and the marks of it were evident from many modes of expression. *Virtus*, for instance, denotes virtue as well as courage; *Exercitus*, which signifies an army, conveys likewise in its original import the idea of any kind of corporeal exercise; *Imperator* originally appropriated to a general, was afterwards applied to the supreme civil magistrate of the empire; and the term *Hostis*, which was employed in contradistinction to a native of Rome, in its primary meaning denoted a stranger. Cicero de Officiis, lib. i, c. 12. The Roman gentlemen were denominated *Equites*, which had a reference to the military service performed on horseback by persons of their quality, in the early ages of the commonwealth, when a soldier and a citizen were the same.

I. Latin Classics.

It might naturally enough be supposed, on comparing the comedies of Plautus with those of Terence, and the Poems of Lucretius with Virgil, that they had lived at the distance of several centuries from each other: and yet they were in reality separated by no long interval of time. Plautus flourished about thirty years before Terence, and Virgil about fifty years after Lucretius. The rapid progress of the Latin tongue to perfection will appear less extraordinary, when we remark the labour bestowed upon its cultivation by persons as eminent for their taste and learning, as for their rank and talents. Scipio Africanus was the assistant of Terence in his comic productions; and Cicero and Cæsar promoted the improvement and refinement of their language, not only by examples of correctness in their inimitable writings, but by composing treatises of grammar.

All the Latin authors, who were remarkable for purity and elegance of diction, flourished within the space of a century

and a half, viz. from the time of Scipio Africanus to
death of Augustus. During that auspicious period, it v
evident with what great success the Roman language co
be adapted to every species of composition. The prose w
ter expanded his ideas in flowing periods, or condensed th
into concise sentences. The poet adapted the various kir
of metre to the melodious notes of the lyre, or, aided by t
fancied inspiration of the epic muse, poured forth the m
regular numbers of heroic song.

The purest, and as it is sometimes called the golden a
of Latin composition, commenced with TERENCE, who
troduced the characters of his elegant comedies, conversi
in terse and perspicuous language. LUCRETIUS gave to t
Epicurean philosophy the wild but captivating charms o
vigorous fancy, and nervous expression. His versificati
is sometimes rough and unpolished, and sometimes rises i
so much grace and smoothness as to resemble the hexamet
of Virgil. The Mantuan shepherds were soon after instruct
by that most eminent of Latin poets to converse in refi
dialogues. His Georgics received the highest polish of d
tion, and his Epic Muse astonished her hearers by corre
ness of composition, and harmony of song. Whenever V
GIL indulges the genuine feelings of nature, and descril
the effects of the tender passions, he is peculiarly delica
captivating, and pathetic; but he seldom ascends to sublim
of thought, without having the great father of Grecian poe
in view. CICERO, the pride of Rome, and a model of t
eloquence, adapted his style to every species of prose co
position: in his letters he was easy and familiar; upon s
jects of philosophy and eloquence he enriched the dicti
while he enlightened the minds of his countrymen; in t
character of a public speaker, he gave beauty, pathos, a
energy, to his native language; he adorned it with t
brightest ornaments, and infused into it the united powers
extensive learning and eminent talents. His copious a
exuberant style resembles the large and flowing garmen
that were thrown by the sculptor over the statues of the go
and which, far from pressing and confining their bodies, ga
free exercise to their limbs, and superior gracefulness
their motion. CORNELIUS NEPOS, the friend of Cicero, h
shown his congenial taste by the easy and unaffected style,
which he has recorded the lives of eminent persons of
own country and of Greece. The Commentaries of CÆs
are valuable no less for accuracy and liveliness of narrati
than for the purest simplicity of diction. HORACE suited t

colours of his composition to the nature of his subjects: in his Epistles and Satires he is humorous without coarseness, and censorious without asperity; and in his Odes he is concise, splendid, and majestic.* The easy and licentious OVID, the terse CATULLUS, the plaintive TIBULLUS, poured forth their poetical effusions in a full and clear stream of description. PHÆDRUS, by his neat and expressive versification of the Fables of Æsop, proved that Iambic measures was suited to the genius of the Latin tongue. LIVY gave the most finished graces to historic composition; and it is difficult to determine whether he most excels in the clearness of his descriptions, or the appropriate eloquence of his speeches. Learning has sustained an irreparable injury in the loss of the concluding, and of course the most interesting part of his work, which related to a period, that admitted the most advantageous display of his talents for historical painting, his zeal for truth, and his ardour in the cause of liberty. During this splendid period, so glorious to Rome and to human nature, the affected phraseology of Sallust was an omen of the approaching decline of classical purity.

The high reputation acquired by these writers, whose praise has been the favourite theme of every polished age, results from combining in their works the genuine beauties of elegant composition.

However they may differ in the direction of their talents, the nature of their subjects, and the style of their productions, there is still a congeniality of taste conspicuous in all their writings, which are marked by such perspicuity and elegance of language, and animated by such propriety and vigour of thought, as can only be well understood and fully relished by frequent perusal and attentive observation; and the extreme difficulty of reaching the standard of excellence, which they have erected, is sufficiently manifest from the small number of modern writers, who have imitated them with any considerable degree of success.

To follow the steps of Grecian authors was the general practice of the Romans. Each of them found some predecessor, who had led the way to the fields of invention, and was therefore adopted as the instructor of his inexperienced genius, and his guide to eminence and fame. The assistance which Homer, Hesiod, and the tragedians, afforded to Virgil, was similar to that which in other branches of composition Pindar, Archilochus, Alcæus, and Sappho gave to Horace;

* His poems seem to possess every merit, except decency and morality, which they sometimes want.

Menander to Terence; Plato and Demosthenes to Cicero; Polybius to Livy; and Thucydides to Sallust. As a copy must from its own nature be inferior to the original, which it imitates, they have all fallen short in point of originality and fervour of composition. The poets are more particularly remarkable for enriching themselves with foreign treasures; and as so many of their obligations to the Greeks, whose works are still extant, are discovered, it is perhaps the less unfair, for us to conclude, that the Romans were very deeply indebted to those, whose works have not escaped the ravages of time. The lost comedies of Menander and Philemon, and the lost books of Polybius, if they could be recovered, would probably make such discoveries as considerably to abate the praise usually bestowed upon Terence and Livy. The want of originality was in some measure, although imperfectly, supplied by judgment and taste. The rules of criticism were studied when various kinds of literature were cultivated at Rome; for Horace wrote his Art of Poetry nearly at the same time when Virgil was composing his Eneid. A blind attachment to their great masters fettered the minds of the Romans, and rendered them close and servile followers, rather than daring and free adventurers. If however we consider the manners of the nation, their dignity of character, their undaunted spirit, their love of freedom, and the great improvements made upon other foreign inventions; particularly upon the arts of government and war, we may fairly pronounce, that they would have approached much nearer to perfection, and that they would have taken a nobler and a sublimer flight, if they had trusted less to the genius of Greece, and more to the enthusiasm of nature. This argument applies with equal force to modern imitations of the ancients, which have produced the same effects by restraining genius and retarding the progress of useful learning.

II. Decline of the Language.

The decay of taste, which extended its influence to the productions of the fine arts, prevailed likewise in works of literature. In the writers who flourished after the Augustan age this circumstance is remarkable, although we should be deficient in justice not to acknowledge that they possess a considerable share of beautiful imagery, lively description, and just observation, both in poetry and prose. Seneca degraded the dignity of his moral treatises by sentences too pointed, and ornaments of rhetoric too numerous and stu-

died; and Pliny gave too laboured and epigrammatic a turn to his Epistles. Lucan indulged the extravagance and wildness of his genius in puerile flights of fancy; and Tacitus fettered the powers of his judgment, and obscured the brightness of his imagination by elaborate brevity, and dark and distant allusions.* Such affectation was in vain substituted for the charms of nature and simplicity. So fruitless is the attempt to supply, by gaudy ornaments of dress, and artificial beauty of complexion, the want of genuine charms, and the native bloom of youth.

QUINTILIAN, in an incomparable work, written to form the mind, and complete the education of a Roman orator, and abounding with the purest principles of judgment, and the choicest treasures of learning and experience, endeavoured to direct the attention of his countrymen to the ancient models of composition. But the weeds of a bad taste were too deeply and too widely sown to be eradicated, even by his diligent and skilful hand; and this degeneracy in the productions of literature, with a few exceptions, kept a regular pace with the depravity of manners, which prevailed during the succeeding times of the lower empire.

It may be observed of Quintilian and of Sir Joshua Reynolds, that their respective works are not merely calculated for the improvement of youth in eloquence and painting, but that they contain the principles of true taste, which are applicable to the fine arts and to literature in general, aided by great force of expression, and adorned with great elegance of fancy. The concise review of Greek and Latin authors by Quintilian, is perhaps scarcely to be paralleled for correctness of judgment. Quint. lib. x, de Copia Verborum. He enlarges with peculiar pleasure upon the Orations of Cicero, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer; and gives an admirable character of the Comedies of Menander. His strictures upon Seneca prove, that in the decline of literature, when the works of that author were most popular, the taste of Quintilian was neither vitiated by false refinement, nor perverted by the prejudices of his contemporaries.

"Were we to divide the whole space from Augustus to Constantine into two equal periods of time, we could not observe without surprise the difference in their respective degeneracy and deterioration. The writers in the first divi-

* The character given by Pliny to Timanthes may be justly applied to Tacitus: "In omnibus ejus operibus *intelligitur* plus semper quam *pingitur*; et cum ars summa sit, ingenium tamen ultra artem est." Lib. xxxv, c. 10.

sion rank, it is true, far below *their* predecessors of the Augustan school: but who will compare Calphurnius and Nemesianus with Lucan and Statius? Tacitus must not be degraded by a comparison with any historian of the latter interval; and Suetonius himself rises far above the level of Spartianus, Capitolinus, and Lampridius."

"St Ambrose, St. Augustin, and Pope Leo the First, were undoubtedly men of powerful minds and extensive learning; but they exhibit strong proofs of the corruption of language. Nor can a more favourable judgment be passed upon the more lineally descended classics, the partizans of Homeric deities and pagan mythology. Servius was nothing more than a pains-taking grammarian; Macrobius, a professed scholar and critic, was unable to use his own language, or exemplify his own rules; and Symmachus, a courtier, and a man of distinguished abilities, has not the least claim to elegance of diction, or profundity of thought. Claudian himself, a foreigner, seems born to rescue the age from general contempt, and in spirit and harmony ranks high among the Roman poets. As to Ausonius, Sidonius, Apollinaris, and the galaxy of transalpine scholars, which sheds a faint gleam on the last stage of Roman literature, they obtain by their number a distinction they could not claim by their merits." Introduction to the Literary History, &c. p. 20.

The great cause of the corruption of the Latin language, which gradually took place after the reign of Augustus, proceeded from the number of strangers, Goths, Alans, Huns, and Gauls, who resorted to Rome from the provinces of Italy, and other parts of the empire, and intermixed foreign words, and new combinations of speech, with the original Latin. It is probable indeed, that as the classical language of Rome flourished for so short a period, it had never taken deep root in the provinces of Italy, where the inhabitants of Apulia, Tuscany, Umbria, Magna Græcia, Lombardy, and Liguria, were all distinguished by their peculiar dialects. The prevalence of Greek likewise had no inconsiderable influence in shortening the continuance of pure Latin, as the former had long been fashionable among the polished Romans; and when the seat of empire was removed, it entirely superseded the use of the latter in the court of Constantinople.

The accurate observer of the Latin tongue may trace its progress through the successive stages of infancy, childhood, manhood, and old age. The infancy marks the time when Saturn and Janus reigned over the most ancient inhabitants of Italy, and the Salii pronounced in honour of the gods their

wild and unpolished verses. The childhood refers to the reign of the kings, and the establishment of the laws of the twelve tables. Its manhood denotes the decline of the republic, and the rise of the empire, when poetry was cultivated by Terence, Lucretius, Virgil, and Horace; eloquence by Hortensius and Cicero; and history by Cornelius Nepos and Livy. Its old age characterises the reigns of the latter emperors, when false refinement banished the taste of the Augustan age, and the language became debased and corrupted.

III. State of the Language in modern Times.

The extensive conquests of the Romans, their constant intercourse with other nations, and powerful influence over them, promoted the wide diffusion of their language. The general establishment of their laws, and the custom of pleading in the courts of justice in no other language, laid the natives of many countries under the necessity of making its study a part of their education. After the fall of the empire, the Germans, as soon as they directed their attention to literature, revived it by the study of the imperial law. Nor did the authority of the Papal See contribute less to preserve and disseminate it; for it was the refined policy of the Conclave to oppose the learning of Rome as a barrier against the encroachments of the Greek church; so that the popularity of the Latin tongue bore no inconsiderable proportion to the extent of the pontifical power. To these causes may be attributed the prevalence of Latin, as a living language, upon the continent of Europe. It is at present spoken with fluency not only in France and Italy, by those who have received a liberal education, but even by the peasants in many parts of Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

Whilst the Romans were masters of the ancient world, and ever since the revival of learning, no language has had better pretensions to the title of an universal language than the Latin. So great has been its prevalence, that it has been cultivated by every enlightened nation; and there is no branch of learning, discovery of art, or system of science, and indeed scarcely any topic of liberal discussion or inquiry, which has not been indebted to it for expression, ornament, and illustration. This has always been the vehicle of communication between men of letters, and has enabled them to carry on a correspondence with each other from the most distant places. Many celebrated authors have considered their native tongues,

as either unpolished in their phraseology, or confined in their circulation; and therefore have had recourse to the language of ancient Rome. The rays of science and learning, that beam from many valuable productions, have been transmitted to the world through this clear and beautiful medium. This is the language in which were composed the invaluable productions of Erasmus, Grotius, Puffendorff, Newton, Boerhaave, Bacon, and Gravina.

Even in the present age, every writer who wishes his works to descend to remote posterity, must not venture to erect the monuments of his fame with the perishable materials which modern languages supply, highly refined and firmly established as they may appear. They are in a state of constant fluctuation, and are subject to the caprices of fashion and novelty: but the Latin is fixed and permanent. The phraseology of Chaucer and Hollinshed, of Malherbe and Rabelais, has long been obsolete, and in a state of old age; whilst that of Horace and Cicero, tried by the test of centuries, and consecrated by the respect of mankind, flourishes in perpetual youth. The language once spoken by the conquerors of the world, is still used to express the dictates of gratitude, honour, and veneration. It is inscribed upon the public edifices; it distinguishes the monuments and the medals of every country in Europe; and transmits the remembrance of scholars, philosophers, patriots, and heroes, through the succeeding generations of mankind, in terms, which, with respect both to dignity and precision, no modern tongue can equal.

At the revival of learning the opinions of scholars was by no means uniform, as to the proper standard of Latin composition. Longolius, Bembo, Paulus Manutius, and other writers of considerable note, were advocates for the exclusive imitation of Cicero, and endeavoured to gain the classic palm, by presenting in their works a servile copy of his style. The impropriety of this predilection was fully proved, and the right of the other classics to a due share of attention was ably maintained by Henry Stephens, Politian, and Erasmus. This controversy, carried on with so much warmth and ingenuity on both sides, has long ceased: the great Roman Orator has been allowed to give the law of elegant writing to succeeding times; and this prerogative is founded upon the admirable perspicuity, copiousness, and richness of his diction. Virgil reigns with unrivalled sway in the province of poetry, and his works have fixed the standard of Latin versification. Modern writers have risen to fame in

and from right to left, as appeared by many authentic monuments of antiquity, particularly the celebrated Sigean inscription, of which a curious representation is given in Shuckford's Connexion of sacred and profane History.* Some letters were afterwards added, the powers of others were altered, written vowels were introduced to supply that deficiency which was common to Greek with all the Oriental dialects; and the combinations of vowels called diphthongs, were introduced, which are in a great degree peculiar to the Greek language. The divisions into dialects were gradually formed by the independent and unconnected people, whose names they bear; and as they had no common metropolis, they adapted their modes of speech to their own provincial manners and characters. The Doric, of which the Eolic was a branch, was spoken in Bœotia, Peloponnesus, Epirus, Crete, Sicily, and all the Grecian colonies planted upon the coasts of Italy. It was characteristic of the unpolished manners of the Dorians themselves, and bore some analogy to that grandeur and simplicity of design, which are visible in the remaining specimens of their architecture. The most perfect examples of this dialect, which the ravages of time have spared, exist in the Pastorals of Theocritus, the Odes of Pindar, and the mathematical treatises of Archimedes. Although the Ionic is the prevailing dialect of Homer, he has diversified his works with the various forms of expression which the others supplied. The favourable opportunities afforded by his travels into the different parts of Greece and its colonies, furnished him with this advantage, and gave him a complete command of every kind of provincial phraseology.† The progressive improvements of the Ionians were communicated to their dialect, which was spoken on all the populous coasts of Asia Minor, as well as in the territories of Attica. The witty and ingenious inhabitants of that province, advanced it to that state of refinement, elegance, and sweetness, which charm the classical reader in the Tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, the Comedies of Aristophanes, the Works of Xenophon, the Dialogues of Plato, the treatise of Aristotle, and the Orations of Demosthenes.

* Vol. i, p. 264, &c. Plato seems to intimate the Greek language was derived from the Hebrew, which he calls the language of the Barbarians. He divides words into two classes; the primitive, which he ascribes to God; and the derivative, which he attributes to human invention. Plato in Cratylo. Montfaucon Palœographia, p. 115, 121, 553. Vossius de Arte Gramm. lib. i. c. 10.

† Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, p. 282, &c.

The Athenians were celebrated for the greatest delicacy of taste. Even the inferior classes of citizens decided not only upon the sentiments delivered by the public speakers, but criticised the purity of their language, and the harmony of their periods. So exquisite was their judgment, as oftentimes to border upon fastidiousness; and the least deviation from the established rules of propriety offended their ears. As a remarkable instance of their refinement, we are told that Theophrastus, the celebrated author of the characters, a native of Lesbos, and a disciple of Plato, who gave him his name for the fluency and elegance of his diction, was discovered by one of the common people of Athens to be a stranger, by his too great accuracy of pronunciation.

The theory of derivation adopted by Lord Monboddo, the author of "the Origin and Progress of Language," according to which all the words of the Greek language are derived from duads of vowels, originated with Hemsterhusius, one of the most eminent scholars of his age. Not only the vowels regularly taken from Α to Υ, and terminated with Ω, are made the basis of this plan; but the most ancient consonants are either prefixed to them, or inserted between them, so as to form about a hundred radical verbs. With these other consonants and vowels were mixed, and variously combined; and thus the whole language is supposed to have been gradually constructed and furnished with its abundant stores of derivative words.*

We do not hesitate to acknowledge, that this theory is very ingenious, and deserves the examination of those who are fond of investigating the origin of languages. The Greek, no doubt, is distinguished by very strong marks of a methodical structure. But ought it not to be considered, whether language, like the government of nations, does not arise out of peculiar circumstances and situations? Is it not probable that necessity, the invention of arts, and the exercise of various occupations, are its genuine sources? After a people have emerged from a savage state, in which all their attention has been employed in procuring the means of subsistence, and they have made some considerable advances in refinement, they have then leisure to fix the proper standard of their language, to reduce it to order, and complete its artificial form. For its origin, therefore, it can be little indebted to the systematic precision of rules, whatever it may owe to them for its improvement. The ages of barbarism may produce war-

* Origin and Progress of Language, vol. ii, p. 540, vol. iv, p. 54. Lennep's Etymologicon Prolegom. p. 27, and vol. ii.

depth of metaphysical reasoning, applied to the divisions of time, which prove the peculiar acuteness and unrivalled invention of the Greeks.

The freedom of expression which the Greek Poets allowed themselves to use is a peculiarity which cannot escape our attention. They made syllables long or short, added them to the beginning, middle, or end of some words, cut them off from the beginning, middle, or end of others, and transposed letters as they pleased. Examples of all these licenses may easily be found, and particularly in Homer, who has availed himself of this privilege to the fullest extent.

The prolific power of their language was not limited by any fixed bounds, or restrained by any certain rules. Verbs were the fruitful trees, which produced innumerable branches springing from each other in the greatest abundance and variety. They are sometimes compounded with each other, and sometimes with substantives; nouns are formed from them, and even from different tenses and persons of the same verb. But the power of compounding them with the prepositions was of a much more extraordinary extent. With any one of the eighteen prepositions any verb, unless its signification made it naturally repugnant to such an alliance, could be joined. There are numerous instances of such combinations, and likewise of double and even treble prepositions being united with verbs and nouns. As such compound words possess an unrivalled strength, richness, and significant brevity, they show the creative powers of a language, which contains inexhaustible resources. Their effect is more particularly felt in poetry, which they supply with one of its most striking and beautiful ornaments. To the genius of Homer they furnished appropriate expression, and enabled him to give, even to an epithet, such distinct and picturesque ideas as poets in many other languages convey with less effect in long descriptions. To this power of compounding words so extensive and unbounded, few resemblances can be traced more apposite than the indefinite combination of letters to form words, and the multiplication of numbers in arithmetic.

From such powers of language naturally rose a proportionable copiousness. Even as early as the time of Homer it had assumed a permanent character: and his works, produced in the infancy of arts and civilization, afforded a satisfactory proof, to what various subjects it could be applied. So full and complete indeed is the nature of his style, so far is it from affording any ground for complaints of its weakness and deficiency, that all scholars unite in their admiration

of its energy and copiousness. What are the thoughts of Virgil, Tasso, or any modern poet, to which the diction of Homer, and the other great Grecian poets, could not give adequate expression, and even embellish with additional and superior beauties of harmony, richness, and variety of composition?

II. Style of Greek Writers.

Thus to the fertile and happy invention of writers of all descriptions did the Greek language supply an abundant store of the most significant terms; and every conception of the mind, every appearance of nature, and production of art, were conveyed by correspondent and adequate words. The historian, the orator, and the philosopher, exercised the same freedom, energy, and beauty of expression, as the poet himself. The effect of genius upon the Grecian language was like that of the sun, when it varies the glowing tints of light, and touches the clouds with the richest and most beautiful diversity of colours. Herodotus, the first of Grecian historians, adorned his curious and entertaining work with the vocal flow and poetical terminations of the Ionic, and Thucydides distinguished his celebrated history of the Peloponnesian war by the elegance and vigour of the Attic dialect.

The Greek language assumed with ease the various forms in which Eloquence strove to persuade and Philosophy to instruct mankind. Aristotle was concise, and vigorous; Plato was diffuse and poetical; Xenophon was simple and elegant. The comedies of Aristophanes and Menander, however unlike in their characters and sentiments, were both improved by the pure and refined beauties of their native dialect. Theocritus gave the artless graces of Doric simplicity to his pastorals; and Sappho conveyed her tender sentiments of passion in the pleasing cadences of that kind of versification, which is emphatically distinguished by her name. The Alcaic Ode, the Elegy, and the Epigram are all marked by their own peculiar characters. The easy flow of Iambics, and the irregular combination of choral measures, adorned the dramatic productions of Æschylus, Eurypides, and Sophocles. Their language was a perfect image of the bold and versatile genius of the people who spoke it; for it embraced the wide extent of human perceptions, was moulded into every form, and produced astonishment by its force, captivated attention by its beauty, and enraptured the ear by its varied and delightful melody.*

* I consider the principal Greek writers in this place solely with a view to their various kinds of style. The other characteristics of their works will be noticed in the history of Greece.

While the Greeks conveyed the dictates of philosophy to the understanding, held up the most pleasing pictures to the imagination, or by the impulse of passion melted and subdued the heart, the dress in which they clothed their ideas was at once rich, elegant, and graceful; and while they rose to an elevation of genius, courage, and taste, which has never been surpassed, their words were the most harmonious, nervous, and expressive, that ever flowed from mortal lips.

From considering the excellence of this extraordinary language, we may indeed be disposed to excuse, or more properly speaking, to applaud, the exalted style of praise, in which its powers were celebrated, by those who were the most competent judges of its merits. The accents which flowed from the lips of the venerable Nestor were described by Homer as exceeding the sweetness of honey. It is an observation of the great Roman orator, that if Jupiter had communicated his will to mankind, he would have adopted the language of Plato. When Pericles addressed the Athenian assemblies, he did not, in the opinion of his contemporaries, merely convince his hearers by his persuasive arguments; but, to use the exalted language of his countrymen, majestic in voice and aspect, and irresistible in force, as if he commanded the elements of heaven, he overpowered the faculties of his astonished hearers with the thunder and lightning of his eloquence.*

III. Duration and extent of the language.

In addition to the curious circumstances which distinguish the Greek language, it may be remarked, that it was spoken and written with purity and elegance for a greater portion of time, than any other ever known in the world. The long period of twenty-three centuries will scarcely measure its continuance. We have seen, that as early as the time of Homer its standard was fixed, and it continued to be cultivated till Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the fifteenth century. A short time before that event, although it existed in a degenerate state among the common people,

* War and oratory were the grand objects of the Greeks and Romans, and they certainly attained a high degree of excellence in these favourite pursuits. But we cannot give full credit to the encomiums which the Greek poets and historians have bestowed upon their eminent men. We know that they were prone to exaggeration, and accustomed to magnify the virtues of their countrymen in war and peace. We have no reason to suppose that our best orators are inferior to the Grecian orators. In extent and variety of knowledge the moderns far excel the ancients.
Editor.

it was spoken with such correctness and elegance by persons of a liberal education, and particularly by the ladies of rank and high condition, as to give no imperfect specimen of the style of Aristophanes, Euripides, and the philosophers and historians, who flourished in the purest times. Such is the very curious fact related by the learned Philelphus, who visited the metropolis of the eastern empire twelve years only before it was taken by the Turks. The intermediate corruptions can only be marked by scholars of more than ordinary acuteness and erudition. By such alone can the different colours and shades of diction be distinguished in the works of writers, who lived at times so remote from Xenophon and Plato, as Eustathius, the commentator on Homer, Anna Comnena, the daughter of the emperor Alexias, Chalcondylas, Procopius, and other writers, included in the list of the Byzantine historians.

The difference between pure Greek and that which was spoken and written by foreigners was much more strongly marked. The writers of the New Testament fall much below the classical standard. Hebrew idioms, and words used in new senses, abound in their writings; and their style, which by modern scholars is called *Hellenistic*, to distinguish it from pure Greek, will not bear the test of rigid criticism. Yet it is far from being of an uniform character, since we find that St. Luke wrote with more purity of expression, St. John with more simplicity and plainness, and St. Paul with greater copiousness and variety, than the other sacred writers. They approached nearer to pure Greek in proportion as they possessed the advantages of education, and were improved by intercourse with the higher ranks of society.

As this continued long to be a living language, so was its circulation very extensive. Under the successors of Alexander it was carried far beyond the limits of the Greek provinces, and long before the Christian era it was spoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was cultivated by the learned in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy, Gaul, Spain and Carthage. Josephus and Philo Judæus preferred it to their native language: and the writers of the New Testament adopted it as the best means to facilitate the propagation of Christianity. This was the language of the early Roman historians, and both Lucullus and Cicero used it to record the accounts of their public transactions. Of its general prevalence the latter speaks in explicit terms in his Oration for Archias the poet, where he informs us, that, at a period when Latin was confined to very few districts, the Greek authors

were studied, and their language was spoken in most parts of the world. With respect therefore to its wide diffusion, the ancient Greek may be compared to modern French, which at present forms so fashionable and so general a branch of education. But whatever degree of delicacy the French may possess in common with the Greek, it wants many of its most distinguishing characteristics, and in particular its grace and harmony, its precision and copiousness, its vigour and sublimity.

There were many causes for the great extent of the Greek language. Numerous colonies planted in different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa; the commerce of the Greek merchants; the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the permanent establishments, which he made, by building many large cities, contributed to this end. But the cause, which produced this diffusion more than all others, was the intrinsic excellence of the language itself. It is a remarkable fact, that at the period when the provinces of Greece were reduced to the meanest vassalage, and the character of the people was sunk to the lowest state of disgrace in the opinion of their conquerors, their language still continued to retain its high and original reputation, and was studied not only by the Romans, but by persons of respectability and distinction in all parts of the ancient world. The pure Greek, as a living language finally sunk with the power of the eastern empire under the triumphant arms of the Turks.

IV. Modern Greek.

Every scholar must naturally be desirous to ascertain the present state of the Greek language. Its deviation from that which was formerly spoken, both with respect to pronunciation and grammar, is very considerable. The words of the language indeed, like Italian and Latin, are in substance the same as those of ancient Greek; there is, however, an intermixture of Turkish with that which is spoken in Asia; of Arabic with that which prevails on the coasts of Africa; and of Italian with that which is used at Benevento, and other parts of Italy. The modern Greeks pay only so much attention to Grammar, as consists in forming two cases by inflexion, namely, the genitive and the accusative; and the persons and numbers of the verbs: but with respect to declensions and conjugations they observe no rules. In their conjugations they imitate the general practice of the moderns, by constantly making use of auxiliary verbs. In their pro-

nunciation they strictly attend to accent, and hence the quantity of words is not not only disregarded, but often most grossly violated; and they have entirely lost that sweet modulation and variety of sound, which graced the lips of their ancestors.* Such is their neglect of ancient literature, that the New Testament, as well as the works of their own classics, have been translated for their use. The decline of their language has kept pace with the degeneracy of their manners: for in consequence of a neglect of composition, and inattention to the ancient models of elegance and purity, they speak a barbarous and coarse dialect. The descendants of Pericles and Demosthenes, oppressed by a despotic government, and immersed in bigotry and superstition, are ignorant of the pure phraseology of their illustrious ancestors; and it is a remarkable fact, that of the seventy different jargons, which are now spoken in Greece, that of the Athenians is held to be the most corrupt and barbarous. (De Pauw, v. i, p. 70.) The mixture of their language with the dialect of Turkey and other nations bears a striking resemblance to the magnificent ruins of marble temples, remarkable for exquisite architecture, which are seen in the streets of Athens to support the rude cottages and mean sheds of the Grecian slaves.

From the whole of this survey of the *English*, *Latin*, and *Greek* languages, we may form a judgment of the origin, progress, characteristics, and beauties of each; and we may be enabled to determine their respective merits. When we allow to the Greek all its due praise for harmony, copiousness, and that amazing ductility, by which it could express with ease, in derivative and compound words, new indeed, but perfectly analogical, every discovery in science, or invention in the arts; when we commend the Latin for its majesty, precision, and vigour; and when we hold up the classical writers in each as the best models of learning and taste, let us not neglect to form a proper estimate of *our own* tongue. The English language deriving its stock of words from so many different sources, and very imperfectly understood without the aid of Greek and Latin, is energetic, rich, and copious. And, perhaps, if we were confined to the knowledge of a single modern language to the exclusion of all others, no one could be found better adapted to all the purposes of social intercourse; more capable of expressing the

* Monboddo. Forster on Accent and Quantity, p. 207. For an elegant sketch of the political and literary state of Greece during her good and bad fortune, see Harris's Philol. Inquiries, c. iii.

general sentiments of the mind, or more deserving the praise, which we have, it is presumed on a due consideration of its comparative merits, assigned to it.

CHAPTER VI.

ELOQUENCE.

"**NOTHING** seems to me more excellent, than to be able to engage the affections, convince the understandings, and guide the inclinations of whole assemblies, and even to direct those inclinations from their original course into a new channel, by the commanding powers of eloquence. This noble faculty has in every free state, more particularly in times of peace and tranquillity, been always held in the highest esteem, and obtained the greatest influence. And indeed what can be a juster subject of admiration, than that amidst a vast multitude one man only, or a very small number, should rise superior to all others in the exercise of that power, which nature has equally bestowed upon all the human race? Or what is so pleasing to the ear, or so gratifying to the understanding, as the judicious and solid discourse delivered in elegant and polished language? Or what is so efficacious, or so noble, as to influence the people, the judges, and the senate, by the charms of oratory? What is so great, so generous, or divine, as to rescue the virtuous from oppression, and protect the unfortunate from injustice? Can any thing be more useful than to be always furnished with the arms which eloquence supplies to assert your rights and to repel the attacks of injury? And not to confine our observations within the limits of the courts of justice, or the senate-house, what is there in the midst of retirement from business more agreeable and entertaining; what better proof can be given of the refinements of a liberal education, than a flow of elegant and polished conversation? It is indeed the peculiar characteristic of our nature, which distinguishes us from the brute creation, that we can express our thoughts by language, and both enjoy and communicate the pleasures of social intercourse. Who therefore does not hold such an endowment in great estimation? and who does not think it an object of honourable ambition to surpass others in the exercise of that faculty, in which rational beings show their ascendency over inferior animals? But not to dwell upon in-

considerable points, let us proceed to the most material. What other power than that of eloquence could have proved sufficiently efficacious to induce the scattered individuals of mankind to quit a rude and savage life in order to form regular communities? and what other power could have softened their barbarity by the refinements of civilized manners, or after states were founded, what other power, I say, could have restrained them by salutary institutions, and secured their prosperity and happiness by forms of government, and establishments of law? To close this subject, which is indeed almost inexhaustible, I lay it down as an indisputable principle, that upon the prudence and talents of an accomplished speaker, not only his own personal respectability, but the welfare of numerous individuals, nay even the safety of the government depend. I therefore earnestly exhort you, my young friends, to persevere in your present course, and to cultivate with incessant diligence the study of eloquence, for the sake of your own reputation, the advantage of your friends, and the prosperity and glory of your country."*

Such is an imperfect representation of the animated and luminous encomium, which Cicero, in the beginning of his celebrated Dialogue de Oratore, pronounced upon his favourite art. And to teach the best use of this noble faculty of speaking, and point out the method by which it can be made to answer the most important purposes, is the great end of the art of Rhetoric. It is evident that no study more fully repays the labour bestowed upon its cultivation, if we reflect upon the rise and progress of eloquence in the early ages of the world, and the great improvements which have been made in it both in ancient and modern times. We may recollect the extraordinary degree of perfection to which it was carried by Demosthenes and Cicero; and their productions which have come down to us give the most satisfactory proofs that they were consummate masters of their art, and that they excelled in it, not less by the extent and variety of their knowledge, than the brilliancy of their genius. In our own times we see the effects produced by rude and unpo-

* Cicero de Oratore. lib, i. sect. 30. Edit. Proust. And he has comprized the advantages of eloquence in another passage too beautiful to be omitted.—"Jam vero dominа rerum eloquendi vis, quam est præclara, quamque divina! quæ primum effecit, ut ea quæ ignoramus, discere, et ea quæ scimus, alios docere possimus. Deinde hâc cohortamur, hâc persuademus, hâc consolamur afflictos, hâc deducimus perterritos a timore, hac gestientes comprimimus, hac cupiditates, iracundiasque restinguimus: hæc nos juris, legum, urbium societate devinxit, hæc a vita immani et fera segregavit." De Natura Deorum, lib. 2.

lished eloquence upon the minds of the common people in the harangues of crafty demagogues, and the sermons of itinerant enthusiasts: it is evident therefore, what a powerful instrument of persuasion and utility it may be rendered, when placed in the hands of well educated persons, who to all the natural advantages of voice, action, and abilities, which ignorant speakers may possess, unite the guidance of rules and an acquaintance with the best examples.*

Nor will a knowledge of the principles of Rhetoric, upon which the chief beauties of composition depend for their grace and effect, be of inconsiderable use to the *hearer* or *reader*, as well as the *speaker*. It will enable them to unravel the intricacies of composition in general, whether in verse or prose, to understand the principles upon which it is founded, and to form a right judgment of its merits.

If objections be ever started against eloquence, considered as a faculty, which may be made the instrument of evil as well as of good, it is obvious that similar objections may be urged against the exersise of the faculty of reason, as it is too often employed to lead men into error. But no one would think of bringing a serious argument from this abuse of the intellectual powers against the improvement of our understandings. Reason, eloquence, and every art most essential to the comfort of life, are liable to be misapplied, and may prove dangerous in the hands of bad men; but it would argue an excess of levity to contend, that upon this account they ought to be neglected, and held in no estimation. While the orator employs his talents, and practises the rules of his profession, in the pursuit of that end for which it was originally designed,—the persuading men to good and virtuous actions, and the dissuading them from every measure that is dishonourable and vicious, nothing can be more excellent in itself, or more useful to society.

Rhetoric *is the art of speaking and writing with elegance and dignity, in order to please, instruct, and persuade.* Elegance consists in the purity and perspicuity of language. The former may be acquired by studying the most excellent authors, by conversing with the best company, and the frequent practice of composition. The latter consists in making use of the clearest and most intelligible expressions, in avoiding ambiguous words, affected brevity, perplexity of periods, and confusion of metaphors. Dignity arises from sublime thoughts, and noble and elevated tropes and figures.

* For the principal heads of this chapter I am indebted to that rich storehouse of knowledge, the Encyclopædia Britannica, article *Oratory*.

It may be thought unreasonable to fetter the mind by systems, and restrain the flights of eloquence by rules. But it is evident from experience and observation, that rules may greatly assist genius, provided they point out the right road, without confining the learner to a single track, from which he is told it is unlawful to deviate. They are undoubtedly necessary before practice gives that ease, which may enable him to trust to his own well-regulated exertions, and proceed without a guide.

To enumerate the rules of Rhetoric would require too minute a detail; and they will be best learnt from those writers, who both in ancient and modern times have obtained great reputation by their works upon the subject. Such are Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and their faithful followers, Blair, Campbell, and Fenelon. To ascertain the leading principles relating to eloquence in general, it may be sufficient to consider its productions under four distinct heads.

I. The sources of argument.
II. The nature of style, and the ornaments of composition.
III. The arrangement of the different parts of a discourse.
IV. Propriety of action and delivery.

I. The Sources of Argument.

I. The basis of all eloquence is *invention*. It is this prolific faculty, which enables the speaker to form and combine such ideas, as are necessary for the statement, explanation, and illustration of his subject, with a view to conciliate the minds of his hearers, and engage their judgment and passions in his favour. A liveliness of imagination, and a quickness of thought, are great assistants to invention; and they who possess these happy gifts of nature, are found to be rarely at a loss for reasons to defend their own opinions, and to disprove those of their opponents. Of this prime faculty the most eminent orators and poets were in full possession; and we find that so far from giving us any cause to complain of barrenness of invention, they fill our minds with the abundant produce of intellectual fertility. This remark, among other instances, is particularly justified by the examples of Homer, Plato, and Cicero. To collect materials for the employment of genius, must necessarily form the great business of life. Invention, strictly speaking, implies *discovery* rather than *creation*, and must be understood to signify new combinations of those images, which had been previously stored in the memory.

Accurate learning and extensive knowledge, the prospects of nature, the discoveries of art, the aids of education, and the results of experience and observation upon mankind, are the proper funds to supply this faculty with its requisite stores. Hence are furnished the various topics, whether *external* or *internal*, which are applicable to the different kinds of causes, whether *demonstrative*, *deliberative*, or *judicial*, and which are treated of at large by the Rhetoricians, and particularly by Aristotle and Cicero. Cicero de Inventione, lib. i, p. 55, fol. edit. The judgment must ever be active in the right application of the assistance, which genius and extensive knowledge can bring to every particular subject; whatever is trifling or superfluous must be rejected; and nothing admitted into a composition that is not fully to the purpose, and calculated to answer the end originally proposed. The bright and clear stream of eloquence, assisted by every tributary rill that can increase its fulness, should flow not in a circuitous and winding course, but with a direct and rapid current.

II. Style, and the Ornaments of Composition.

II. Without the requisites of a proper style, and the judicious introduction of the ornaments of composition, a discourse will be dry, jejune, and uninteresting. As from hence eloquence derives its chief excellence, beauty and splendour, it is of the greatest importance to the orator, to be well acquainted with the constituent parts of true ornament, and the various kinds of style.

Of *style in general* it may be remarked, that every country possesses not only a peculiar language, but a peculiar mode of expression, suited to the particular temper and genius of its inhabitants. Most of the Eastern nations are remarkable for a lofty and majestic diction, which is full and sonorous, strong and forcible, and animated by bold and expressive figures. On the contrary, the Northern languages are more simple, and generally partake of the cold influence of their climate. In the former the warmth of imagination predominates; in the latter there is more of the strictness and correctness of judgment.

But the principal distinctions of style arises from the diversity of subjects. The same mode of expression would be as inconsistent upon different occasions as the same dress for persons of different ranks. Propriety, therefore, requires that expression should be adapted to the nature of the sub-

ject. Style is divided into three kinds, viz. the *low* or *plain* style; the *middle* or *temperate*; and the *lofty* or *sublime*.

A *plain* style is the genuine language of nature; it may be easy, inclining to the familiar, and elegant, at the same time that it is inartificial and unaffected. As it is designed to make things perfectly intelligible, and to set them in a clear light, the proper subjects of it are epistles, essays, narratives, works of science and philosophy, or any other topics that require to be treated without ornament, or addresses to the passions. Simplicity and ease both of thought and expression are its peculiar beauties; and the choicest examples of it are to be found in the works of Xenophon and Cæsar, the Sermons of Secker, and the Tales of Swift.

The *middle* style is best adapted to those subjects which require gravity, accuracy, and force of expression. It accords with fine thoughts, as a low style is best suited to those which are common, and the sublime is best adapted to those which are great and dignified. A fine thought deserves that character from possessing dignity, beauty, delicacy, and novelty. As the subjects that belong to the middle style are important, though not of so exalted a nature, as wholly to captivate the mind, and divert it from attending to the diction; so it admits all the ornaments and beauties of composition. This is the sphere likewise of the most highly finished and most elaborate writing. This is the soil favourable to the growth of the fairest and most beautiful flowers of eloquence. Here strong and emphatical words, flowing periods, harmonious numbers, vivid tropes, and bright and animated figures, find their proper place. The best examples of this kind are the dialogues of Plato, the speeches of Livy, and the most admired orations of Cicero.

Lofty and elevated thoughts form the proper basis of the *sublime* style. Such thoughts relate either to divine subjects, to the works of nature, or such expressions, or actions, as are esteemed the noblest and the best. The true sublime is perfectly consistent with the greatest plainness and simplicity of expression. Depending solely on its native energy for its effect upon the mind, it rather rejects than solicits the aid of ornament; for when the soul is elevated to the utmost of its powers by a noble idea, it attends not to the niceties of language; but, from its own vigour and lively conception of things, expresses them in terms the most concise and emphatical, and best adapted to their nature. Dignity and majesty are the proper qualities of this species of style, both as to the thought and expression; as may be best exemplified

by numerous passages in the holy Scriptures, the Iliad of Homer, and the Paradise Lost of Milton.

Under the sublime is properly classed the *pathetic* of composition, wherein the greatest power is exerted over the passions. Here we are interested, agitated, and carried along with the speaker or writer, wherever he chooses to conduct us; our passions are made to rise in unison with his; we love, detest, admire, resent, as he inspires us; and are prompted to feel with fervour, and to act with energy, in obedience to the particular impulse, which he gives to our minds. Quintilian with great propriety calls this power of moving the passions, the soul and spirit of his art: (Quint. lib. vi, c. 2.) as the proper use of the passions is not to blind or to counteract the exercise of reason, but to move in conformity to it, if an improper impulse be sometimes given to them, it is not the fault of the art, but of the artist. The pulpit admits this species of eloquence, as is clear from the Sermons of Massillon and Bourdaloue: but the debates in popular assemblies open the most extensive field for its display.

The diction of an orator may include all the characteristics of these three kinds of style. As he speaks sometimes to prove and to instruct, sometimes to entertain and to delight, and sometimes to rouse, to animate, and to astonish, he must be occasionally plain and easy, manly and energetic, figurative and flowery, pathetic and sublime. (Quint. lib. xii, c. 10 et 12.) All this variety, however, is rarely necessary upon the same occasion. Due regard must be paid to the nature of the subject, the dispositions of the audience, the time, the place, and all other circumstances. Cicero refers us to some orations of his own for examples in each kind. His Oration for Cæcina is written in the low style, that for the Manilian law in the middle, and that for Rabirius in the sublime. His Orations against Verres are specimens of a mixture of all the different kinds.

Figures of speech were first introduced by necessity, deriving their origin from a want of simple expressions. The most ancient and most original languages, such as the Hebrew, Arabic, American and Indian, are highly picturesque and metaphorical.* That which was at first the result of ne-

* "We have planted the tree of Peace, said an American orator, and we have buried the axe under its roots; we will henceforth repose under its shade; and we will join to brighten the chain which binds our nations together." If we are required to explain how men could be poets or orators before they were aided by the learning of the scholar or the critic, we may inquire in our turn, how bodies could fall by their weight, before the laws of gravitation were recorded in books. Mind

cessity, was in time cultivated for the sake of embellishment; like garments, which were originally used to protect the person from the inclemency of the weather, and were afterwards worn also for the sake of ornament. (Cicero de Orat. lib. iii, c. 28.) The imagination and the passions have a very extensive influence over every language: their operations are expressed by words taken from sensible objects; and the names of these sensible objects were in all languages the words most easily introduced; and were by degrees extended to those thoughts, of which men had more obscure conceptions, and to which they found it more difficult to assign distinct appellations. They borrowed therefore the name of some sensible idea, where they found, or fancied they found, some affinity. Hence the origin of *tropes* and *figures*, the former of which convey two ideas to the mind, by means of one word; the latter throw the sentence into a different form from the common manner of expression. The use of tropes and figures opens the widest field for the invention of an orator, as they allow him to give that range to his imagination, which is highly gratifying to a man of genius. *Metaphor*, *metonomy*, *synecdoche*, *irony*, *simile*, *prosopopœia*, the *antithesis*, and the *climax*, as they display the ingenuity of a speaker, and set off his ideas to advantage; so are they capable of affording great pleasure to his hearers, whenever they rise naturally from the subject, and are introduced with judgment and effect. They fix attention, excite admiration, and inspire delight; they speak the language of the passions, and represent the different emotions of the mind, by the most lively images of fancy; and, provided they are scattered over a composition by the hand of taste, they improve every topic by heightening its beauty, and augmenting its strength.

III. The Arrangement of the different Parts of a Discourse.

III. It is necessary that all parts of a speech be placed in their proper order, and united in such a manner, as to render the whole clear in itself, and easy to be understood. A regular arrangement of parts is of the greatest advantage to the speaker, as it assists his memory, and carries him through his discourse, without tautology or confusion. He ought never to forget that perspicuity of *order* is as necessary as perspicuity of *language*.

as well as body has laws, which are exemplified in the practice of men, and the critic collects only after the example has shown what they are.—Ferguson on civil Society, p. 264.

The parts that compose a regular speech are divided by the ingenious author of the Lectures on the Belles Lettres into six, viz. the *exordium*, or *introduction*; the *statement*, and the division of the subject; the *narration*, or explication; the *reasoning*, or arguments; the *pathetic part*; and the *conclusion*. These distinctions are sufficiently clear and intelligible, to preclude the necessity of comment or explanation. Cicero divided an oration into the same number of parts, but gave them somewhat different names, viz. *exordium*, *narration*, *proposition*, *confirmation*, *confutation*, and *conclusion*; and this is the arrangement usually adopted in the systems of Rhetoric. The *proposition* of Cicero corresponds with the *statement* of Blair; and the *pathetic* in the scheme of Cicero forms a part of the *conclusion*. It is as improbable that these artificial distinctions were ever scrupulously regarded by a speaker, as that the works on Poetry by Aristotle or Horace were ever followed in the composition of an Epic poem; and yet Commentators have not been wanting, who have endeavoured to reduce the most impassioned speeches in Virgil to the same regular divisions as the orations of Cicero.

There may be many excellent speeches, where several of these parts are wanting, where the speaker for instance, uses no exordium, as is the case in the first Oration against Catiline, but begins abruptly. There may be others, which he finds is unnecessary to divide into parts, as in some orations of Demosthenes, but enters at once into his subject, and is carried on by an uninterrupted flow of argument, till he reaches his conclusion. As however these have always been considered as the constituent parts of a speech, and as in every one some of them must necessarily be found, they properly obtain a place in all systems of Rhetoric.

This method is not so strictly observed, as not occasionally to admit of *digression*, *transition*, and *amplification*, which give great beauty, if judiciously managed, to Poetry and Eloquence. Of digression there are striking examples in Cicero's Oration for the poet Archias; where he leaves the main subject of the vindication of his client, to express his commendation of polite literature. The transition is absolutely necessary, where a discourse consists of many parts: but it is the rapid and abrupt transition, which is most to be admired for its effect in rousing the attention. Of this there are various instances in the Orations of Cicero.

Amplification does not merely signify a method of enlarging an object, but of representing it in the fullest and most comprehensive view, that it may in the most lively manner strike

the mind, and influence the passions. Of this an instance is given in the noble encomium on eloquence, which forms the introduction to this chapter. There is another example in the Oration of Cicero for the Manilian Law; when, having first lamented the want of good generals at that time among the Romans, he expatiates upon the qualities requisite to constitute a complete commander; and closes his description with proving, that all these qualities were united in Pompey.

The power of eloquence appears in nothing to such extent and advantage, as in a copiousness of expression, or a proper degree of amplification, suited to the nature of the subject. A short detail or description is too often attended with obscurity, from an omission of some material circumstances. But when images of things are drawn in their just proportion, painted in their proper colours, set in a clear and full light, and represented under different points of view, with all the strength and beauty of eloquence, they captivate the minds of the audience, and, by an irresistible force, move and bend them to the will of the speaker. And this is precisely the effect intended to be produced by the exertion of that power of eloquence called Ενεργεια, or *evidentia*, so much insisted upon, and so fully described by Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.* Here the audience are made spectators of the scene which the speaker describes: here is no necessity to call in the aid of figurative language, but only to represent in strong, energetic, and vivid terms, what has passed, and what he wishes to impress upon the mind. Here every object is visible, distinct, and affecting; every being lives, moves, and acts; and every circumstance is with a happy selection of topics brought forward, that can convince the judgment, or overpower the heart. No writers excel more in this species of eloquence than Livy and Tacitus.

It is the proper end of oratory for the speaker to express himself in such a manner, as completely to acomplish his purpose, whether it be to instruct, to please, or to persuade; and he who adapts his language, and his sentiments with the greatest ability, to these ends, is best entitled to the prize of eloquence. Hence it is evident, that the essence of all that deserves the name of eloquence is far from consisting in vehement action, and wordy declamation; but depends upon good sense, and accurate knowledge, expressed in spirited language, and recommended by a pleasing and correct delivery. To be complete master of a subject is the first requisite; to be

* Quint. lib. vi, c. 2. Ciceronis Acad. iv, 17. Aristotelis Rhet. lib. iii. c. 11.

well furnished with matter and argument will give to a discourse an air of manliness and dignity, which is a powerful instrument of persuasion.

A good writer or speaker to purity and perspicuity of expression will add *ornament;* upon which depends, if not the usefulness, at least the principal beauty of eloquence. This it is which gives to composition, magnificence, sweetness, and elegance; which engages the attention, captivates the hearts, and excites the applauses of an audience; which distinguishes the orator from the philosopher and the man of business, which raises his language above the simplicity of common prose, tempers the severity of his arguments, improves the keenness of his wit, and enlivens the brisk sallies of his fancy. This it is which, properly speaking, makes rhetoric an *art;* all its other parts may be attained by the mere kindness of nature: but without discipline, without much study and experience, the perfection or ornament, such as characterizes the best speakers, can never be attained.

He who wishes to produce the desired effect in speaking, must be free from all insincerity. He only can address himself *effectually* to the heart, and the feelings of others, whose mind glows with the warmth of sensibility, and whose arguments result from conviction. He must feel the influence of those passions and emotions, which he wishes to inspire. (Quint. lib. vi. c. 2, sect. 3.) An assumed character and an affectation of feeling will not be long concealed under the disguise of dissimulation. The greatest orators were distinguished by the virtues which they laboured the most strenuously to inculcate. Demosthenes and Cicero were eminent for a patriotic spirit; and those speeches, into which they have infused it, have always attracted most admiration from the world.

IV. Propriety of Action and Delivery.

IV. In the delivery of a speech great judgment is necessary; and there is no part of eloquence, which stands more in need of instructions. The orator must be careful to avoid the extremes of aukwardness and affectation; he must be inanimate on the one hand, or theatrical on the other. To follow a good practitioner in this part of the art will be of more advantage to him, than all the Rhetoricians either ancient or modern. It is justly remarked by Cicero, that every thought and emotion of the soul have their appropriate countenance, voice, and gesture; and the whole body, every va-

riation of the face, and tone of the voice, like the strings of a musical instrument, act agreeably to the impulse they receive from the mind. (Cicero de Orat. lib. i, c. v.) The correspondence of emotions with expression and emphasis must be attentively observed, and made the guide to practice. The orator must feel the force of his own reasonings, and be alive to the beauties of his own descriptions. It is this strength, spirit, and fire, which render him a perfect master of his art, which excite sympathy in the breasts of his hearers, and animate them with his own enthusiasm. Was it not the impassioned delivery of Demosthenes, to which his rival Æschines has left such a remarkable and such an honourable testimony, that gave resistless persuasion to his speeches? (Cicero de Orat. lib. iii, sect. 213.) Was it not the indignant countenance, the animated tone, and the judicious action of Cicero, which communicated such commanding influence and powerful weight to his arguments, when he confounded the audacious Catiline? And was it not the dignified air, and the persuasive mildness of Massillon, which added to his religious instructions so much force, when he drew from the haughty Lewis XIV a confession of the power of sacred eloquence?

He who aspires to the reputation of a good public speaker must make judgment the rule of his conduct; for no attainments can secure praise or advantage without it. Even correctness itself must not be carried to an extreme; the flights of imagination must be restrained by discretion, and propriety must give laws to every effort. Thus will he take the surest road to eminence; he will reach the sublime, without being bombastic or extravagant; he will be bold, not rash; serious, but not severe; gay, not licentious; and copious without redundance. An adherence to the proper rules of the art will be the safest guide to genius, will improve every natural endowment, and will add the advantages of experience to the gifts of nature.

The eloquence of the moderns has rarely reached the standard of excellence, which was attained by the ancients. The character of each is widely different. In Greece the public speaker was bold, impetuous, and sublime. In Rome he was more declamatory, verbose, flowery, and pathetic. Fenelon has thus ingeniously discriminated the powers of the two great orators of Greece and Rome. "After hearing an oration of Tully, 'How finely and eloquently has he expressed himself!' said the Romans. After Demosthenes had spoke, 'Let us rise and march against Philip,' said the

Athenians." In England the public speaker is temperate and cool, and addresses himself more to the reason of his audience, than to their passions. There is still great scope for the display of genius in the pulpit, at the bar, and in the houses of Parliament; and the path of fame is still left open to rising orators. The rules laid down by the ancients, as the principles involved in those rules are of general utility, may be studied to great advantage, although much judgment is necessary for their proper application; and attention must be paid to modern taste and modern manners.

Many distinguished examples of eloquence may be held up to the observation of the young orator; but he must avoid too close an imitation, even of the most eminent. Let him study the most esteemed works of his predecessors; let him frequently revolve, and even commit to memory, their productions, and repeat them with suitable voice and action; and let him rather in his own compositions endeavour to catch a portion of their spirit, than tread servilely in their steps. Demosthenes was vehement, abrupt, energetic, and sublime. Cicero was dignified, luminous, and copious. Chatham united the energy of one to the elegance of the other. Mansfield was persuasive, delightful, and instructive. Burke was flowery, vivid, and fluent. Let the orator study to combine in his compositions their united excellence. Let him not, to use the apposite and beautiful illustration of Quintilian, resemble the stream, that is carried through a channel formed by art for its course; but rather let him imitate the bold river, which overflows a whole valley; and where it does not find, can force a passage by its own natural impetuosity and strength.

CLASS THE THIRD.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN GENERAL.

CURIOSITY is one of the strongest and most active principles of human nature. Throughout the successive stages of life, it seeks with avidity for those gratifications, which are congenial with the different faculties of the mind. The

child, as soon as the imagination begins to open, eagerly listens to the tales of his nurse: the youth, at a time of life, when the love of what is new and uncommon is quickened by sensibility, is enchanted by the magic of romances and novels: the man, whose mature judgment inclines him to the pursuit of truth, applies to genuine history, which even in old age continues to be a favourite object of his attention; since his desire to be acquainted with the transactions of others has nearly an equal power over his mind, with the propensity to relate what has happened to himself.

The love of fame, and a desire to communicate information, have influenced the ingenious and the ambitious, in almost every age and in every nation, to leave behind them some memorials of their existence, actions, and discoveries. Thus has the curiosity of mankind secured, by methods at first very rude and incomplete, and in succeeding times by records more improved and satisfactory, its favourite enjoyments.

The method of conveying accounts of remarkable transactions in the earliest ages of the world, by means of oral tradition, was very imperfect and uncertain. Songs were the only memorials of antiquity among the Germans; and their war-song, when rushing to battle, was always a memorial of some ancient hero. Poets who sung the praises of deceased warriors at the tables of kings, are often mentioned by Homer: the Scandinavians had their scalds, the Gauls and Germans their bards, and the savages of America preserved similar records of the past in the wild poetry of their country. To supply the great defects of such oral tradition, and to perpetuate their remembrance, founders of states, and leaders of colonies, gave their own names to cities and kingdoms. Pillars of stone were raised, devices were fixed upon shields and banners, and national festivals and customs were established to commemorate extraordinary events. From such imperfect attempts to rescue the past from the ravages of time and oblivion, the progress to written history was made soon after the invention of letters. The names of magistrates, and the recital of the most remarkable events, which happened during their transaction of public business, were accurately recorded, as we learn from the Chronicles of the kings of Israel, and the registers of the Consuls preserved upon the Capitoline marbles at Rome. Such was the commencement of annals, and of a regular series of chronology. In succeeding times, when nations became more civilized, and the various branches of literature were cultivated, private persons employed themselves in recording the actions of their contemporaries,

or their ancestors, and history by degrees assumed its proper form and character. It was at first like painting the rude outline of an unskilful designer; but after repeated essays, the great masters of the art arose, and produced the harmonious light and shade, the glowing colours, and animated groups of a perfect picture.

With a particular view to the works of eminent historians, both ancient and modern, it may be useful to consider,

I. The *Nature* of History, and the assistance which it derives from other studies.

II. The *Advantages* of a knowledge of History.

III. The comparative merits of *ancient* and *modern* Historians.

IV. The *Qualifications requisite to form an accomplished* Historian, in order to establish a standard, by which to measure the merits of Historians in general.

I. History, in the general sense of the word, signifies *a true relation of facts and events;* or, considered in a moral point of view, it is that lively philosophy, which, laying aside the formality of rules, supplies the place of experience, and teaches us to act with propriety and honour according to the examples of others. The province of history is so extensive, that it is connected with every branch of knowledge; and so various and abundant are its stores, that all arts, sciences, and professions are indebted to it for many of the materials and principles upon which they depend. It opens the widest prospect to the eyes of mankind in the spacious fields of literature, and is one of the most pleasing and important objects of study, to which the mind can be directed.

To draw the line of proper distinction between authentic and fabulous history, is the first object of the discerning reader. Let him not burden his memory with events that ought perhaps to pass for fables; let him not fatigue his attention with the progress of empires, or the succession of kings, which are thrown back into the remotest ages. He will find that little dependence is to be placed upon the relations of those affairs in the Pagan world, which, preceded the invention of letters, and were built upon mere oral tradition. Let him leave the dynasties of the Egyptian kings, the expeditions of Sesostris, Bacchus and Jason, and the exploits of Hercules and Theseus, for poets to embellish, or chronologists to arrange. The fabulous accounts of these heroes of antiquity may remind him of the sandy deserts, lofty mountains, and frozen oceans, which are laid down in the maps of the ancient geographers, to conceal their igno-

rance of remote countries. Let him hasten to firm ground, where he may safely stand, and behold the striking events, and memorable actions, which the light of authentic records displays to his view. They alone are amply sufficient to enrich his memory, and to point out to him well-attested examples of all that is magnanimous, as well as all that is vile;—of all that debases, and all that ennobles mankind.

History, considered with respect to the nature of its subjects, may be divided into *general* and *particular*; and with respect to time, into *ancient* and *modern*. Ancient history commences with the creation, and extends to the reign of Charlemagne, in the year of our Lord eight hundred. Modern history beginning with that period reaches down to the present times. General history relates to nations and public affairs, and may be sub-divided into *sacred*, *ecclesiastical*, and *profane*. Biography, memoirs, and letters, constitute particular history. *Statistics* refer to the present condition of nations. *Geography* and *Chronology* are important aids, and give order, regularity, and clearness to them all.

For information upon the subject of sacred history the student must resort to the holy Bible, to Josephus, and to the Annals of Archbishop Usher.

The affairs of the Christian Church, comprehending the lives, characters, and conduct of those who have maintained a pure and apostolical faith, as well as of such sectarists as have deviated from it, are comprised in *Ecclesiastical history*. It describes the nature of religious establishments, and displays the various opinions of Christians upon the most important of all subjects. Here we trace the progress of Christianity from obscurity and oppression, to pomp and dominion; and, after a long series of superstition and error, we see it resume its primitive character in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. This important subject has exercised the diligence and displayed the learning of many eminent writers of various ages: but the reader of general history may find sufficient gratification for his curiosity in the works of Eusebius and Mosheim.

From the people of the ancient world we first select the *Jews*, as the particular objects of our attention. They were favoured with the knowledge of the one true God. Their history carries us back to the most remote antiquity; and its importance is increased in the greatest degree by its connexion with the Christian Revelation.

The next branch of general history is that of *Ancient Greece*. It presents a nation of heroes, philosophers, poets,

orators, historians, and artists, who spoke the noblest language which ever graced the tongue of man, and who have been the guides and the instructors of all succeeding nations in arts, sciences, and philosophy. Greece was the source of light, that has irradiated a great portion of the globe.

The *Romans* in the order of excellence, as well as of time, followed the Grecians: their military talents were displayed in a long succession of conquests and triumphs in every part of the ancient world. The monuments of their genius, which the ravages of time have spared, render them next to the Greeks the boast of history, and the glory of mankind.

The *History of England* has the strongest claims to our attention. It abounds with such events and transactions, and displays such characters and actions, as it is our duty and our interest to study; and we are attracted to a perusal of its eventful records by the ties of patriotism, and a congeniality of manners.

From *Modern history* in general we select those parts which relate to the most important transactions and events, particularly adverting to those discoveries and institutions, which distinguish it from ancient times, and have contributed essentially to the present state of opinions and manners.

There are certain foreign nations, which, by the extent of their dominions, their civil polity, or their connexion with our own country, may excite our curiosity to learn their former state: but it will not answer any important purpose to dwell, for instance, upon the affairs of France under the Merovingian, or Carlovinian, families; or upon the state of Germany before the reign of Charles V. Let not the scholar waste too much time, which may be more profitably employed in other studies, in poring over the works of Thuanus, Mariana, and Froissart; or the numerous volumes of the Universal History.

With respect indeed to foreign nations, the objects of his most useful attention are the actual power, the nature of their present governments, the state of civilization, sciences, and arts, their natural and artificial advantages, their population, produce, commerce and relative importance in the scale of political greatness. This constitutes a branch of study which has been of late years much cultivated by the Germans, and is distinguished by the name of *Statistics*. Travellers and statesmen must not claim this study as their own exclusive province, since it will be found extremely useful to every English gentleman, and will qualify him to form a just estimate of the relative condition, power and importance of his own country.

Biography is a branch of history, which in point of importance and moral utility ranks as high as any. The biographer by his accurate researches supplies the deficiences of the historian. What the latter gives us only in outlines and sketches, the former presents in more complete and highly finished portraits. Their province does not merely extend to those who have acted upon the great theatre of the world, as sovereigns, statesmen, and warriors; but to all who have improved human life by their useful discoveries, adorned it by their works of genius, and edified mankind by their examples. With what pleasure do we select a Bacon, a Boyle, a Newton, an Addison, a Locke, a Radcliffe, a Howard, and a Hanway, from the multitudes that surround them, and become acquainted with their particular characters and conduct! To contemplate such men, not inflamed by vain ambition, or courting empty popularity, but seeking retirement, and giving dignity to the walks of private life by the efforts of genius, and the exertions of philanthropy, is a high gratification to the mind, and inspires it with an admiration and a love of those virtues, which come within the reach of general imitation.

"To find that great lengths have actually been gone in learning and virtue, that high degrees of perfection have actually been attained by men like ourselves, intangled among the infirmities, the temptations, the opposition from wicked men, and the other various evils of life; how does this show us to ourselves as utterly inexcusable, if we do not endeavour to reach the heights we know have been gained by others of our fellow-creatures? Biography sets before us the whole character of a person, who has made himself eminent either by his virtues or his vices; shews us how he came first to take a right or wrong turn, the prospects which invited him to aspire to higher degrees of glory, or the delusions which misled him from his virtue and his peace; the circumstances which raised him to true greatness, or the rocks on which he split, and sunk to infamy. And how can we more effectually, or in a more entertaining manner, learn the important lesson, what we ought to pursue, and what to avoid?"*

No species of writing gives a more perfect insight into the minds of men than their *Letters*. In the letters of persons

* Burgh's Dignity of Human Nature, p. 167. Warton's Preface to the Life of Sir T. Pope. Blair's Lectures, v. iii, P. 55, &c. "It is a thing to be wished, that every one would study the life of some great man distinguished by employs to which himself may be destined by Providence." Du Fresnoy tom. i, p. 43.

of distinction we expect the justness of observation which belongs to history, and the ease and good humour of elegant conversation. They place us in the situation of correspondents, and we seem honoured by the confidence of the great and good, the witty and gay of various ages and countries. We observe them as they thought in their retired moments when, withdrawn from the bustle of the world, they gave free scope to their unrestrained opinions, and poured them without reserve into the bosoms of their friends. We may remark the immediate effects produced by good or bad fortune, and may catch the spirit of their virtues immediately from themselves. Here wit, humour, and genius, have indulged their natural sallies, and adorned the common occurrences of life in the most pleasing dress. Among the numerous instances, which might be selected of epistolary excellence, we distinguish the letters of Cicero, which display the sentiments of a vigorous mind, and give an insight into the eminent characters of his eventful times. Pliny, in Epistles remarkable for neatness and precision of thought, expresses the dictates of a cultivated and generous mind. If we turn our attention to the epistolary literature of our own country, we shall find that the piety and affection of Lady Russel, the quaintness and pleasantry of Howel, the manliness and political sagacity of Strafford, the philosophical exactness and cool judgment of Locke, the simplicity of Rundle, the moralising vein of Johnson, and the taste and elegance of Gray, mark their respective letters with the strongest characters of originality, and give us the most pleasing pictures of their minds. We naturally wish to know all we can of such persons, and feel an increasing interest in their other productions; for we prize those writers the most, who combine the charms of entertainment and pleasure with the lessons of instruction. History derives considerable aid from collateral studies, which contribute to render its prospects accurate, distinct, and extensive. The sciences of *Geography* and *Chronology* are absolutely necessary to give it precision and perspicuity.

Geography gives us a description of the terraqueous globe. The land is divided into Continents, Islands, Peninsulas, Isthmuses, Capes or Promontories. The water is distinguished by Oceans, Seas, Gulfs, Lakes and Rivers. It teaches us likewise the artificial division of the globe. The two points on which the earth is supposed to perform her daily motion are the *Poles:* equally distant from them both is the *Equator*, which divides the globe into two equal parts,

and on which are measured the degrees of *longitude*. The *Ecliptic* is the circle drawn across the equator which describes the annual course of the sun. The lines which intersect the equator at right angles, and meet in the poles, are called *Meridians*, and on them is measured the *latitude* of places. These are the great Circles of the globe, which like all other circles contain 360 degrees, and each degree 60 minutes. A degree on a great circle of the earth is something more than 69 English miles. The tropics of Cancer and Capricorn are two imaginary circles each drawn at the distance of 23½ degrees from the equator, the former to the north, the latter to the south. When the sun approaches one of these boundaries of the ecliptic he seems to make a stand for a few days, and then gradually recedes toward the other: hence they are called the Summer and the Winter Solstices. The polar or Arctic and Antarctic circles are drawn at the distance of 23½ degrees from either Pole. Within these Circles the Sun appears above the horizon, from the space of six months to that of twenty-four hours.

In the survey of the four quarters of the World, viz. Europe, Asia, Africa and America, we remark the comparative dimensions and the boundaries of each kingdom and state, the governments, forms of religion, soils, productions, manners and customs by which the families of the earth are distinguished.

EUROPE although the smallest of these divisions, in extent of country, is by far the most eminent with respect to religion, laws, learning, arts, arms, and commerce.

ASIA is remarkable for the number of inhabitants, fertility of soil, and variety of climate. There are found the diamonds of Golconda, and the spices of Malabar. There the most ancient Empires were founded, the Will of God was revealed to Man, and Mahomet spread his imposture. *China* is remarkable for its patriarchal state of society, its language consisting of hieroglyphical characters, and abounding in monosyllables, its wide extent of empire, and the myriads of its ingenious and crafty inhabitants. *Hindoostan*, or the Empire of the Great Mogul, is best known to us by the flourishing British Colonies planted upon the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts, and exhibiting the curious prospect of extensive, populous, and rich Provinces, situated at the distance of nearly half the globe from the mother country, and governed by a small Company of Merchants in London.

The vast Peninsula of AFRICA united to the Continent of Asia by the isthmus of Suez, rich in gold, ivory, gums, and

drugs, is, for the most part, barbarous and uncultivated. Yet on surveying these sultry and inhospitable regions, the mind feels some satisfaction to remark the British Settlements of Sierra Leone, and Bulama, established for raising the productions of the West Indies, without the aid of miserable slaves, and a commerce in human flesh. Egypt, whence of old beamed the light of Science and Civilization, is renowned for its stupendous pyramids, the most ancient monuments of human labour extant, the periodical inundations of the Nile, and the degraded condition of the natives foretold in the holy Scriptures, exactly corresponding with the observations of travellers. In the interior Provinces of Zamfara, and Makako, and upon the remote bank of the Niger, the people are immersed in the grossest ignorance and idolatry. At the extreme point of the Continent—the Cape of Good Hope, the tribes of the Caffres with an invincible ferocity, like the lions of their forests, oppose the restraints of civilization, and resolutely persist in their savage mode of life.

AMERICA, or the New World, was discovered by the great Christopher Columbus, in 1491, but derives its name from Americus Vesputius, who ascertained the land to the south of the equator a few years after. Its north east division, bounded by the great River Mississippi, includes the coasts peopled by the Colonists from Great Britain. The south-west part includes the fertile provinces of Mexico and Louisiana, the former belongs to Spain, the latter is ceded by that power to the French, who originally planted a colony there, and have lately sold it to the United States of America. In South America, Peru, Chili and Paraguay are likewise subject to that Kingdom. The Brasils, rich in ebony, emeralds, and birds of the most beautiful plumage, belong to the Portuguese; and Surinam, planted with the sugar cane, cotton, and indigo, which form the most delightful prospects upon the banks of the creeks and rivulets, belong to the Dutch. The Patagonians, famed for gigantic stature and mildness of temper, inhabit the most southern extremity, near the straits of Magellan.

In America the works of Creation are formed upon the largest scale. There the Rivers of St. Laurence, Amazon, Oroonoko, and Plata

> ..... to whose dread expanse,
> Continuous depth, and wondrous length of course
> Our floods are rills ———

roll their mighty waters to the Ocean; and there the towering Andes, extending 5000 miles in North and South Ame-

rica, rear their summits, white with perpetual snow even in the torrid zone.

Such is a superficial view of the Globe we inhabit, so large in size, that even Teneriffe or Mont Blanc are, compared to it, but as grains of dust upon an artificial sphere. Its diameter is 7970 miles, and its surface contains 199,557,259 square miles. Placed between the Orbits of Venus and Mars, it performs its course around the Sun at the rate of 68243 miles in an hour, and completes its annual revolution in rather more than 365 days.

From the sandy deserts of Arabia and Egypt, or the ever flourishing savannahs at the Equator, where grow the most luxurious fruits, and the waters and the fields teem with life;—from such glowing climes to the frozen regions of the arctic circle, where vegetation is extinct, and the waters are bound by eternal frost, men as well as the inferior animals, are powerfully affected by peculiarity of situation. So great is the influence of *Climate;* but if we consider how slow and gradual the variations are from the black complexion of the Negro of Senegal, to the brown of the Otaheitan, and from him to the fair natives of the North of Europe, we shall find reasons to confirm the account recorded in the History of Moses, that the various tribes of men sprung originally from one family, as well as conversed originally in one language.

Without a knowledge of Geography no reader can have a clear idea of the scene where any occurrence takes place; but is liable to great mistakes by confounding one part of the world with another. It is applicable to history in general, and introduces the pleasing combination of the ancient and modern names of places, and a comparison of the characters and manners of those who have inhabited them at different times. It assists the memory by the various associations of ideas, with which it furnishes the mind; and the prospect of a country presented by a map, or a globe, recalls the memorable transactions which have been performed in it, and revives the recollection of its illustrious men.

Persons in various situations of life are interested in the study of geography, and may reap advantage from its cultivation. While it constitutes a branch of knowledge essentially necessary for the traveller, the merchant, and the sailor, it furnishes abundant stores of investigation to the naturalist and the philosopher. It is not only requisite for every reader of history, but for every one who peruses the daily accounts of the events which are taking place in various parts of the world. It has long been considered as a material part of

polite education; at present indeed it is more particularly proper that it should be so, as the British commerce and colonies extend our connexions to so many different countries; and as many voyages of discovery have of late years been made. These circumstances must naturally excite our curiosity, and operate as a strong inducement to the cultivation of this very interesting branch of study.

Without Chronology, which *regulates the several periods of time, and teaches its artificial divisions*, we have no standard by which the rise and fall of empires, the length of lives, the dates of remarkable occurrences, or the lapse of time can be measured. We are unable without this assistance, to understand the modes of reckoning among different nations, such as the *Olympiads* of the Greeks, the *Foundation of Rome*, the *Hegira* of the Turks, and the *Julian* and *Gregorian* Calendars. The first year of the first Olympiad coincides with the 776 year before Christ, and the year of the foundation of Rome with 753 before Christ. The Hegira, or flight of Mahomet from Mecca, happened in the 622 year of the Christian Era. The Julian, or old style, is so called from Julius Cæsar, who regulated the Roman Calendar. He added a day immediately after the twenty-fourth of February, called by the Romans the sixth of the calends of March; as it was thus reckoned *twice*, the year in which it was introduced was called *Bissextile*, or Leap Year. Pope Gregory the xiiith, in 1582, reformed the Julian Calendar, as he found that the odd eleven minutes, viz. the difference between 365 days 5 hours 49 minutes, the time in which the Sun returns annually to the same point of the Zodiac, and the 365 days 6 hours which make a Julian Year, amount in the course of a century almost to a whole day; and from this excess in reckoning the equinoxes had gone back ten days in 1257 years. He therefore caused these ten days to be suppressed, and the eleventh of March to be called the twenty-first. Thus the Equinox fell on the same day of the month as when the Council of Nice was held, in the year 325, at the vernal Equinox. The Old Style was used till September 1752, when the New was adopted in all the Christian countries of Europe.

Geography and Chronology are with the greatest propriety called the *eyes* of history; because this metaphor expresses better than any other how effectually they assist us as the proper instruments to discern the various actions and revolutions of mankind.

There are other assistances, by which the study of history may be considerably promoted, and the events which it re-

cords may be very pleasingly illustrated. Coins and medals, inscriptions,* gems, and statues, not only show us the progress of ancient arts, but likewise ascertain many curious particulars respecting characters, instruments, buildings, and ceremonies. Coins and medals indeed are particularly serviceable in that respect. The representation of so many events is delineated upon them, that they illustrate several passages in ancient writers, and confirm doubtful facts. Sometimes they are not only the assistants but the substitutes of history. Gibbon remarks that if all the historians of that period were lost, medals, inscriptions, and other monuments, would be sufficient to record the travels of the emperor Hadrian. Coins are to general history, what miniatures are to historical pictures; when arranged in exact order, they answer the purpose of a chronological epitome, and convey similar information, with the additional advantage of a more lively and picturesque manner of communicating it.

But the *Laws* of a country are more intimately connected with its history, and indeed, more accurately speaking, constitute an essential part of it. They show the genius of a people, illustrate their manners, and enable us to trace their progress from rude independence to due subordination and proper government. The historians of antiquity, indeed, taking it for granted that the laws of their respective countries would be as well known to others as to themselves, have not paid sufficient attention to this subject. From the turbulent scenes of public affairs, from battles and the conflicts of contending factions, we can derive little knowledge of the internal state of manners and customs. An acquaintance with jurisprudence is calculated to supply this information; and even from the ancient laws, extremely concise as they are, we may infer with a great degree of probability, what the state of the country was, in any particular respect, when a new law was enacted. The remedy recommended clearly points out the nature of the disease. For instance, the encroachments of luxury in Rome may be marked by the Oppian law, which prohibited the Roman ladies from wearing ornaments to their dress, which exceeded the value of an ounce of gold; and by a decree of the Senate obtained by Cornelius, which limited to a particular sum the expense of funerals.

* The comparative use of Medals and Inscriptions by the learned Scipio Maffei may be found in Du Fresnoy's new Method of studying History, vol. i, p. 323.

I. The Advantages of a Knowledge of History.

II. If we consider the knowledge of history with regard to its application, we shall find that it is eminently useful to us in three respects, viz. as it appears in a *moral*, a *political*, and a *religious* point of view.

In a moral point of view, it is beneficial to mankind at large, as the guide of their conduct. In a political—as it suggests useful expedients to those who exercise the public offices of the state, whether they are kings, ministers, or magistrates; or as it enables us to form, by comparison with those who have gone before them, a just estimate of their merits. In a religious, as it teaches us to regard the Supreme Being as the governor of the universe, and the sovereign disposer of all events.

The faculties of the soul are improved by exercise; and nothing is more proper to enlarge, to quicken, and to refine them, than a survey of the conduct of mankind. History supplies us with a detail of facts, and submits them to our examination before we are called into active life. By observation and reflection upon others we begin an early acquaintance with human nature, extend our views of the moral world, and are enabled to acquire such a habit of discernment, and correctness of judgment, as others obtain only by experience. We thus by anticipation are conversant with the busy scenes of the world; by revolving the lives of sages and heroes, we exercise our virtues in a review, and prepare them for approaching action. We learn the motives, the opinions, and the passions of the men who have lived before us; and the fruit of that study is a more perfect knowledge of ourselves, and a correction of our failings by their examples. At the same time we form those general principles of conduct, which must necessarily be true and commendable, because they are founded upon the immutable decrees of right reason, and are sanctioned by the uniform authority and practice of the wise and good of all ages.

Our own experience is imperfect, but the examples of ancient times are complete. Actual observation gives only a partial knowledge of mankind; great events and important transactions open very slowly upon us; and the shortness of human life enables us only to see detached parts of them. We are not placed at a proper distance to judge rightly of their real nature and magnitude. Heated by our passions, hurried on by precipitation, and misled by interest and prejudice, we view the affairs of the present times through an

obscure and a partial medium, and frequently form very wrong opinions of them. On the contrary, the examples of history are distinct and clear, they are presented to us at full length, and we can contemplate them in their origin, progress, and termination. We consider them at our leisure, and decide upon the actions of those, who are removed by time to a great distance from us, with a cool and dispassionate judgment.

Experience and the knowledge of history reflect mutual light, and afford mutual assistance. Without the former no one can act with address and dexterity. Without the latter no one can add to the natural resources of his own mind a knowledge of those precepts and examples, which have tended to form the character and promote the glory of eminent men. Scipio Africanus employed many of his leisure hours in a diligent perusal of the works of Xenophon; and the Commentaries of Cæsar improved the military talents of the illustrious Eugene.

History contributes to divest us of many unreasonable prejudices, by enlarging our acquaintance with the world. It sets us at liberty from that blind partiality to our native country, which is the sure mark of a contracted mind, when due merit is not allowed to any other. It may be serviceable either as the assistant of Foreign Travel, or as its substitute, by removing an aversion to nations and institutions different from our own. It rectifies our opinions with respect to ancient and modern times, and thus enables us to form a just estimate of mankind in all countries as well as in all ages.

This study likewise tends to strengthen our abhorrence of vice; and creates a relish for true greatness and solid glory. We see the hero and the philosopher represented in their proper colours; and as magnanimity, honour, integrity, and generosity, when displayed in illustrious instances, naturally make a favourable impression on our minds, our attachment to them is gradually formed. The fire of enthusiasm and of virtuous emulation is lighted, and we long to practise what we have been instructed to approve.

History likewise is the foundation, upon which is built the true science of government. It is the proper school for princes, politicians, and legislators. They need not have recourse for instruction to the Republic of Plato, the Utopia of More, or the Oceana of Harrington. In their deliberations upon state affairs they can form no safer plans for the guidance of their conduct, than from the contemplation of

facts. In the records of various states they may observe by what means national happiness has been successively pursued, and public liberty has been firmly established: in what manner laws have answered the ends of their institution in the reformation of manners, and the promotion of the general good; and thence they may draw such conclusions as may be most advantageous in the regulation of the affairs of their own country.*

In the volumes of history likewise we see the most deceitful and crafty men stripped of the disguise of artifice and dissimulation, their designs developed, and their stratagems exposed. By the fall of the great and powerful into a state of disgrace and indigence, as well as by the revolutions of empires, we are not so liable to be astonished at the events which pass before our own eyes. The reverses of fortune so frequently recorded in the pages of former times convince us of the mutability of worldly affairs, and the precariousness of all human grandeur.

The portraits, busts, and statues of the hero, the legislator, the patriot, and the philosopher, form a most edifying school for the ingenious mind. The Roman youth, accustomed to view the images of their illustrious ancestors decorated with the emblems of the highest offices of the state, and crowned with the wreaths of victory, were fired with the love of glory, and strove to emulate their exploits.† History in a similar manner, by transmitting the spirit of excellence from one mind to another, excites a desire for whatever is fair and good, and engages even the passions on the side of judgment. It fixes the strongest and most lasting impressions upon the mind, sanctions the arguments of reason, and gives life to the lessons of morality.

How tame and spiritless are the precepts of wisdom, even when taught by a Socrates or a Plato, if compared with the more animated beauties of virtue, exemplified in the actions of an Aristides, or a Phocion! To the former we only give the cold assent of the judgment; of the latter we express our

* Hoc illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre et frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere, capias; inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu quod vites. Liv.

† Sæpe audivi Q. Maximum et P. Sciponem civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi; scilicet non ceram illam neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

admiration with rapture; they call forth our encomiums, they excite the spirit of emulation, and we are eager to show by our conduct the great influence which they have gained over our hearts.

But what is this homage, which is paid almost involuntarily to such great and illustrious examples? It is undoubtedly the the voice of nature, and the suggestion of reason pure and uncorrupted by the bad practices of the world. It is the decision of a correct judgment, and the proof of a genuine taste for true greatness and solid glory. In order therefore to form a virtuous character, and to be distinguished for the most laudable actions, it is an object of the first concern to be ever attentive to this voice, and to conform to its wise and friendly admonitions.

While history holds up to view instances of eminent virtues and splendid actions, she calls not the student to a *servile* imitation of her examples; for thus might he unintentionally be led to error and misconduct. No two men were ever precisely the same in moral and intellectual qualities, or in situations exactly similar; and therefore no one can with safety conclude, that the same conduct could in all respects be prudent for him, which his predecessor has followed. Expedients springing from our own minds are formed with more clearness, and executed with more spirit, than those which are derived from the imitation of others. While the imitator is revolving the precedents of past times, and minutely examining them with reference to his own case, he may suffer the favourable opportunity for action to escape him, and may be undone for ever; or, supposing he takes any particular example for his guide, from a want of accurate discrimination, he may be betrayed into some fatal error. The acute and the discerning will not fail to combine originality of plan with the guidance of precedent; they will make every proper allowance for the various dispositions and manners of the times; they will instantly perceive where circumstances *differ* or *agree;* and will adopt only so much of the example, as is exactly proportioned to the exigency of their own affairs.

History rises to the highest degree of importance, and attains the full dignity of its character, by fixing our attention upon the conduct of divine Providence in the moral government of the world. It is clear to every one, who takes the most superficial view of the past, that great events have often been effected by trifling means; that the consequences of actions have been much more extensive, more fatal or calamitous than were originally designed by the agents them-

selves; that the designs of Providence have been brought about by the caprice of human tempers, or the violence of human passions; and that force, craft, and cruelty have always met with their just, though sometimes delayed punishment. The result of actions has been widely different from the end proposed by those who planned them; and great revolutions have been effected contrary to the intention of the persons, who were the chief instruments of them. Such extraordinary discoveries draw us much nearer, and give us a much better insight into the operations of the Deity, than those occurrences, in which the causes are more equal to the effects; as is the case with the common affairs of life. Thus history becomes the handmaid of religion, and opens to us the most wonderful prospects of the divine interposition in the government of the world.*

Exclusive of the general uses of history, there is a particular application of it, which every one naturally makes to his own pursuits, his own age, and his own habits of thinking. The politician searches the records of past ages for the rise and fall of states, the measure which advanced their greatness, and the causes which precipitated them into ruin. The soldier looks for military achievements, the conduct of generals, and the dicipline of armies. Cause and effect engage the attention of the philosopher; and the man of science is interested by the description of the phenomena of nature. The antiquarian studies the ancient laws, customs, and dresses, and other peculiarities of nations. The man who is advanced in years is gratified with remarking in the same book those sentiments and actions, which he disregarded in his

* I subjoin the following remarkable instance from Robertson's Charles Vth, Book 10, C. 5. "It is a singular circumstance, that the Reformation should be indebted for its full establishment in Germany, to the same hand which had formerly brought it to the brink of destruction, and that both events should be accomplished by the same arts of dissimulation. The ends, however, which Maurice, the Elector of Saxony, had in view at these different junctures, seem to have been more attended to, than the means by which he attained them. It is no less worthy of observation, that the French king, a monarch zealous for the Catholic Faith, should, at the very same time when he was persecuting his own protestant subjects with all the fierceness of bigotry, employ his power in order to maintain and protect the Reformation in the Empire, and that the league for this purpose, which proved so fatal to the Romish Church, should be negociated and signed by a Roman Catholic Bishop. *So wonderfully does the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purposes.*" In the preface of Sir W. Raleigh's History of the World many similar examples are taken from the early part of the History of England.

youth; and the habits of thinking, which he has formed at one particular period of life, induce him to search for different sources of entertainment and instruction at another. Thus every person is influenced by his peculiar taste: when he consults the volumes of history, he discovers something in them to suit the complexion of his own mind; and, from a natural partiality to his own pursuits, may be inclined to think, that the historian wrote only for his use and entertainment.

Readers, however, of every age and description, may find in history ample materials for improving their judgment, by tracing the due connexion which subsists between causes and effects. They ought not to be satisfied with the recital of events alone, but endeavour to investigate the circumstances which combined either to produce, to hasten, or to retard them; as well as the manner of their operation, and the degree of their influence.

Historians, indeed, sometimes expose themselves to censure from too great a refinement of conjecture. They assign so many motives for the conduct of their heroes, that it is highly improbable all of them should have operated. Of this there are abundant instances in Tacitus, Thuanus, and Hume. The reader, however, derives an advantage from the circumstance; for although it is not reasonable to conclude, that all such motives had the influence attributed to them; yet he is left at liberty to choose that which he thinks most probable to have produced the measure in question.

In whatever abstruseness the science of politics may be supposed to be involved, it is probable, that the motives which lead to the performance of many remarkable actions do not lie very deep in the human mind. The actions themselves may indeed dazzle by their splendour, or surprise by their novelty; but still they might probably be the result of no greater reach of capacity than that which is exerted in the management of common concerns. There is no state of public affairs, to which the operation of the passions, the virtues, the vices, the calls of public or private interest, and the love of glory, will not apply; and into these may be fairly resolved the conduct of monarchs, statesmen, and warriors.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMPARATIVE MERITS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORIANS.

AS there is no species of composition, to which the faculties of the mind have been more strenuously bent, or more laudably directed in various ages of the world, and from which more useful information may be derived, than history; it is doubtless very interesting to consider, and to determine the comparative merits of ancient and modern historians. With regard to the nature of their subjects, as the pursuits of mankind are now so much diversified, modern writers have great advantages over the ancient. The prevailing employment of ancient times was war; the pages of the historians are therefore filled with battles and sieges, which, from the time of Homer to the revival of learning in Europe, weary our attention by uniformity of subject. A more particular regard has in subsequent ages been paid to laws, customs, commerce, religion, and government; and every circumstance relative to the conduct of individuals, tending in any degree to the developement of the genius of a people, is scrutinized and discussed. It is not usual for modern historians to introduce those formal harangues of generals in the field, or of statesmen in the senate, which constitute so large a share of the works of antiquity. However acute they may be in point of argument, appropriate as to character, or dramatic as to effect, they contradict our notions of probability, and only serve, by the interposition of the supposed speaker, to display the eloquence of the author. The speeches of Cæsar in his Commentaries, and those which Dion Cassius composed for him, are very different in circumstances and arguments. Of all that the ancients have left us, none approach so nearly to nature and probability as those of the Old Testament and Herodotus. The moderns have a wider range of political views; and, from their more extensive knowledge of various countries, they are better acquainted with the nature of government, and the comparative state of man.

Ever since the establishment of the regular and general conveyance of letters by posts, channels of easy and expeditious information have been opened; and the intercourse between one country and another has been more frequent, in

consequence of travelling being rendered safe, commodious, and expeditious. The wide diffusion of literature likewise, extending more and more since the revival of learning, has multiplied authentic documents; valuable papers, are often deposited in public libraries, where they are accessible to the curious and inquisitive; or, if preserved by individuals, they are soon discovered by the active spirit of inquiry, and communicated to the world.

An abundance of materials for history, however, is not the only requisite to inform the mind, or secure the approbation of the reader. One great fault of the modern historians is prolixity. The volumes of Thuanus, Rapin, and Carte, are calculated to fatigue the most vigilant eye, and oppress the powers of the most retentive memory. Such writers exhaust attention by magnifying trifles into importance, and diffuse a coldness over their works by a minute detail of uninteresting affairs, or unimportant remarks. Hence the reader, unless he wishes to consult the author upon some particular subject, turns over many a page with indifference, and finally quits the historian with disgust.

The contrast with the ancients in this respect is remarkably striking. The ancients draw characters, and describe events, with a few masterly strokes, and paint in such glowing colours of language, that they seize the attention at once, and captivate the mind. Their conciseness gives them great advantage, and tends to preserve the interest excited by their descriptions. All is animated and forcible; the representations are taken immediately from recent fact; the portraits of human nature are drawn from the life; and the busy scene of action, the tumults of war, and the reverses of fortune, are placed immediately before our eyes. They write as if they came immediately from the field of battle, or the deliberations of the council. The situation of many of the ancients was particularly favourable to this lively species of composition; for Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæsar, Sallust, and Tacitus, were actors in many of the important scenes they pourtray, and write under the influence of the deepest impressions of reality and experience.

If however we read with a view to our immediate improvement, the modern historian claims our more particular regard. He describes actions and events, which have a necessary connexion with the times in which we live, and which have an immediate influence upon the government and constitution of our country. The ancients may astonish us by relating those sudden revolutions, which transferred em-

pires by a single battle: but the moderns show us more of the power and progress of the mind, display more fully the causes and consequences of great events, and edify us by examples more congenial with our peculiar habits and manners; and which come more within the reach of our imitation.

I. The Qualifications of an accomplished Historian.

In order to erect a standard by which to measure the merits of historians, let us form to our minds one of the greatest characters which can adorn the literature of a country, and endeavour to point out the qualifications, by which an accomplished historian ought to be distinguished.

Such a writer chooses a subject adapted to his talents and situation. He is most fortunate, when his stores of knowledge are supplied by experience, and his own observation; as was the case with some of the best historians of antiquity, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Cæsar, and Tacitus; and in modern times Sully and Clarendon. Or if he has not been himself an agent in the transactions he records, he has recourse to the purest sources of information. Although it is impossible always to select such a subject as admits of strict unity of design; yet he is convinced that the argument is most noble and most interesting, when he can preserve, without distracting the attention of the reader, by desultory digressions, a close connexion of all the parts, and in the detail of which he can proceed by a regular gradation of events to some important and sublime conclusion. This historical unity of subject may be illustrated by the Retreat of the ten thousand by Xenophon, and the Roman history of Livy. The action is not from the beginning interrupted by extraneous subjects, but ascends from one incident to another, till the principal point is reached. Impressed with a deep sense of his duty, he pays the most sacred regard to truth; and his diligence in ascertaining facts is equal to his accuracy in stating them. As far as the infirmities of human nature will allow, he is divested of the stubbornness of prejudice, the violence of passion, and the predilection of party. He is convinced that the ornaments and graces of composition may properly be employed to embellish truth, but that no embellishments can compensate for wilful misrepresentation. He guards against the flights and the delusions of imagination, and is therefore careful not to convert history

into romance, or merely adorn his subject with the arguments of philosophical dissertation, or the pomp of figurative style. He carefully distinguishes where he ought to be concise or diffuse, what topics require to be stated in plain language, and what are capable of the ornaments of diction. His fondness for his work infuses vigour into his conceptions, and the delicacy of his taste gives elegance to his style, and purity to his sentiments. He is not satisfied with taking a superficial view of affairs, but with deep and acute penetration investigates their proximate and remote causes, separates them from the disguises under which they are concealed, and descends to the true motives of conduct. He breaks through the obstacles that stop the progress of vulgar intellect; and produces those thoughts and reflections, in which truth, penetration, and novelty are blended with peculiar skill, and strike with certain effect. He distinguishes from the surrounding crowds the examples of eminent talents and virtues, and presents their pictures either completely finished, or marked by a few bold and expressive outlines. He selects such circumstances of their domestic, as well as public conduct, as will give the clearest insight into their tempers and manners. In his developement of characters he regards the MORAL tendency of history, which is its noblest and most valuable end. He neither blackens his characters with the aspersions of malevolence, chastises them with unjust satire, nor heightens their lustre with the varnish of adulation. If he feels any bias upon his mind, it is that of a true philanthropist; he is inclined to draw a veil over the failings of human nature, and not expose every vice and folly to the public. He divests himself as much as possible of local prejudices, considers himself as a citizen of the world, and weighs all characters of his own or foreign countries in the balance of impartial justice. As it is his grand object to teach by example, he either makes his remarks with brevity, or leaves his reader to form his own judgment from the clear and accurate statement of facts, which he presents to his mind.

Useless, however, will prove his labour, and ineffectual his skill, in tracing events and actions back to their causes, or in preserving due order and connexion in his work, unless he can inspire his writings with animation, and excite the interest of his readers. For this most important purpose he displays the soundness of his judgment, the boldness of his genius, and the correctness of his taste. He is cautious in his choice of such circumstances as will please and strike the mind;

and, like a skilful poet or painter, he studies the effect of selection, combination, and contrast. He perceives that by this road the ancient historians were led to fame: he imitates their powers of lively description, and as often as a proper opportunity will admit, paints the scene of action with a rapid pencil dipped in the most glowing colours, delineates the lively portraits of the actors, and charms the imagination, and excites the sympathy of every judicious reader. In short, the accomplished historian is awake to the interests of virtue, and is influenced by sensibility, and warmed by a proper regard for liberty, and the happiness of mankind. These principles give energy to his conceptions, and perseverance to his industry. He is best qualified to write with true dignity, when he has worked up his mind to a just elevation of thought, by reflecting, that it is his glorious and honourable province to address himself to all polished nations through the succeeding ages of the world. And he will be kept steady to the cause of justice, when he considers himself as an impartial witness, who is bound by his duty to stand before the tribunal of posterity, and is there liable to be arraigned for every offence against the majesty of truth.

By these laws, which may be considered as some of the principal rules of history, every historian may be tried. They furnish an equal standard to direct the writer, and determine the judgment of the reader.

It is the duty of fair criticism to estimate the merits of writers at their just value. If therefore we seek for those historians who approach nearest to this standard, by excelling in that particular department which each has undertaken, we ought to select from the Greek writers, THUCYDIDES and POLYBIUS; from the Latin, LIVY and TACITUS; and from those of Great Britain, CLARENDON, ROBERTSON, and HENRY. Their celebrated productions are marked by strong and lively description, energy of thought, love of virtue, and zeal for truth; and their refined talents for political speculation were exercised with a view to the welfare of their own countries, and the general improvement of mankind.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

THE Israelites, or ancient Jews, were those distinguished people, who were favoured by the immediate care of the

Almighty, and conducted by his especial guidance to Judea, a place of residence promised to their remote ancestors. In consequence of their obstinacy, idolatry, and wickedness, and more particularly for the rejection of their Messiah, they were subdued by the Romans, after sustaining a siege in their metropolis, unparalleled in the annals of history for its distresses, calamities, and slaughter. Jerusalem was reduced to ruins, the Jewish government was totally subverted, and the surviving people were dispersed over most parts of the world. Their descendants still remain unmixed with the rest of mankind, and are marked by their original features of national peculiarity: they adhere with the most zealous attachment to the religion of their forefathers, and cherish the hopes of restoration to their former prosperity by means of a glorious and triumphant Deliverer.

They preserve with the most watchful care the sacred books of their ancient writers. And astonishing, *very astonishing it is to observe, that in the prophetical parts of these sacred Books are contained all the events before mentioned of their extraordinary history.* Their particular conduct, and the vicissitudes of their national affairs, were predicted by their prophets, and more especially by Moses, their great lawgiver, in the infancy of the world, at the vast distance of thirty-three centuries from the present times. The accomplishment of these predictions bears the fullest and most striking evidence to the truth and inspiration of their prophets, and illustrates the dispensations of Providence to his chosen people.

These sacred Books contain likewise predictions the most exact of the character, office, and actions of the Messiah of the Jews, the great lawgiver of the Christians, the appointed Saviour of the world.

Such interesting circumstances as these, in addition to the peculiar nature of the Jewish polity, considered as a divine institution, the curious manners and customs, and the memorable actions of the descendants of Abraham, viz. of the most ancient people of whom we have any authentic accounts, combine to place these Books first in order of importance, as in order of time.

If we consider, I. The great *antiquity* of these Books; II. The *proofs* which support their authenticity; III. *Their subjects, the characters of the writers*, and the place they occupy in the order of general history, particularly as they stand connected with the Christian Revelation, they will be found to deserve our very earnest attention.

I. The Antiquity of the Scriptures.

No writings of any other nation can be brought into competition in this respect, with those of the Jews. In proof of this assertion it may be remarked, that Moses lived more than a thousand years before the age of Herodotus, who is reputed the father of Grecian history: and rather earlier than he flourished, Ezra and Nehemiah closed the records of the Jews.* As another proof of the priority of the Jews to the Greeks, it appears by the confession of the Greek writers themselves, that they received the letters of their Alphabet from the Phenicians; and there are very sufficient grounds for believing that the Phenicians derived the art of writing from the Jews. The learned and acute Porphyry, who was an equal enemy both to Jews and Christians, and much attached to the learning of Greece, candidly acknowledged that Moses and the prophets who immediately succeeded him, flourished nearly a thousand years before any of the Greek philosophers.

The Books which compose the Canon of the Jewish Scriptures have the concurrence of all antiquity in favour of their originality. They were delivered to the Hebrews in their own language, with every mark of genuineness, by the persons, whose names they bear; and these persons, by recording contemporary events, constantly appealed to well known proofs of their regard to truth. The prophetical Books in particular contain the evidences of their inspiration, as well as of the integrity and piety of their authors. The external proofs are clear and strong, as well as the internal; in consequence of which all these Books have always been preserved with the greatest care, and have been held in the highest veneration.

It is no less curious than important to remark the traditions preserved in the pagan world, which confirm the truth of the Pentateuch, or the five books written by Moses. The tenet of Thales, the great philosopher of Miletus, that water was the primogenial element; the doctrine of Pythagoras, that the universe was created from a shapeless mass of passive matter; the opinions, that the world was formed by an Almighty Power, who gave to man the dominion over the in-

* Moses - - - - - B. C. 1571 years.
Herodotus - - - - - 445
The former therefore preceded the latter 1126 years.
Nehemiah lived - - - B. C. 456

ferior animals; and that man in his primeval state was blessed with perfect innocence and happiness, and resided in a delightful and ever-blooming paradise, descended from the earliest times. Many other parts of Grecian mythology, as well as the traditions prevalent among the various nations of the earth, and particularly among the inhabitants of the vast continent of Asia, agree with the Mosaical account of the creation. The tradition of a deluge is spread over all parts of the world, and is the epoch from which is dated the origin of all records.

The Chaldeans preserved the history of their Xisurus, who was the Noah of Moses. The Egyptians asserted that Mercury had engraved his doctrine upon columns, which had resisted the violence of a deluge. The Chinese historians record that Peyrun, a mortal beloved and protected by the Gods, saved himself in a vessel from the general inundation. The Hindoos say that the waters of the ocean spread over the surface of the whole earth, except one mountain to the north—that one woman with seven men saved themselves on this mountain with certain plants and animals. They add, in speaking of their God Vishnou, that at the deluge he transformed himself into a fish, and conducted the vessel which preserved the relics of the human race. This vessel is likewise a subject of tradition in the northern parts of the world. See Sulivan's View of Nature, Letter 67.

That the sacrifice of animals was necessary to appease the offended gods, was a religious tenet very general and very ancient. The account of the long lives of the Patriarchs is confirmed by writers of various countries. Their primitive manners, and their mode of performing sacrifices, and offering prayers to the great Author of nature on the summits of mountains, and in the retirements of groves, agree with the descriptions of Homer, and many other early writers. Zoroaster, the great teacher of the ancient Persians, derived from the Books of Moses the first principles of his religion, his ceremonial laws, his account of the creation, of the first parents of mankind, of the Patriarchs, and particularly of Abraham, whose pure religion he professed to restore.

In the attributes and characters of the Heathen gods may be found allusions to the ancient expressions of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the customs, laws, and ceremonies of many other nations may be traced a resemblance to the Mosaical institutions. In the accounts of the deities of the Pagans, and the early heroes and benefactors of mankind, particularly in those which adorn the pages of Grecian history, are re-

presented many of the Patriarchs and illustrious persons of Scripture. Many principles of the most eminent philosophers, many fictions of the most celebrated poets, both of Greece and Rome, and many institutions of the most renowned Heathen lawgivers, cannot fail, by their circumstances of resemblance, to direct our attention to the great Legislator of the Jews. The most venerable and ancient traditions of the world seem to contain the parts of one original and uniform system, which was broken by the dispersion of the primeval families after the deluge, and corrupted by the revolution of ages. They were the streams which flowed through the various countries of the earth, from the great source of Mosaical history.*

Josephus, the Jewish historian, flourished in the reign of the emperor Vespasian. He was a person of great learning and eminence, and conducted his inquiries with singular diligence, industry, and care. He corroborates the testimony of the sacred writers, and illustrates their truth; as he not only gives a regular detail of the most remarkable transactions of the Jews, but introduces considerable notices of all those people, with whom they formed alliances, or carried on wars. In his treatise against Apion, he exposes the contradictions, which occurred in the Egyptian, Chaldean, and Phenician records; vindicates the authority of the Jewish Scriptures; describes the care which was taken in their preservation; and states their superior pretensions, more particularly in point of antiquity, to the respect and reverence of mankind.†

II. The Proofs of their Authenticity.

The support given by the earliest Heathen writers to the records of Scripture is very strong. The fragments of Sanchoniathon, the most ancient historian of Phenicia, who is supposed to have flourished not long after the death of Moses, confirm the Scriptural account of the origin of the world, and of many persons and places mentioned in the Pentateuch. Berosus the Chaldean, and Manetho the Egyptian, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, represented several circumstances conformable to the accounts given by Moses.‡ They wrote indeed about the time when

* See Stillingfleet b. iii, c. 5. Bryant's Mythology, Maurice's Indian Antiquities, and Raleigh's History of the World, p. 71.

† Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i, p. 200. Lardner, vol. vii, p. 30, 259, &c.

‡ Berosus and Manetho, B. C. 270. Stillingfleet, Orig. Sacræ, vol. i, c. iii.

the Old Testament was translated into Greek: but even taking it for granted that they derived their accounts from the version of the Septuagint, their evidence is of no small importance, as it shows the honour which was paid by the most learned persons of the East to the sacred records of the Jews; and that they looked upon them as the purest and the most authentic sources of history.

The transactions and literature of the Jews were too remarkable to escape the attention of the learned and inquisitive Pagans, when Judea became a province of the Roman empire. Many particulars relative to the eminent character of Joseph, as a minister to Pharaoh, and as an inspired prophet; to the emigration of the Jews from Egypt, their miraculous passage through the Red Sea, their settlement in the Holy Land, the institutions and ceremonies of the Law, the splendour of Jerusalem in its most flourishing times, the magnificence of the Temple, and the supreme, eternal, and immutable nature of the great object of their worship, are related by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, and Justin. These eminent writers, however erroneous in some particulars, are sufficiently correct in others; and however they may differ in some circumstances from each other, they agree in the great outlines of history. They show that the Jewish records were in their times thought worthy of high credit;—and that facts, well known in the world to be true and important, were faithfully related in those records.

The greatest care was taken of the books of the Old Testament in every period of the ancient church of the Jews. The original copies were deposited in the temple at Jerusalem, to serve for a sacred memorial to posterity. They were read in all the synagogues as long as the Jewish government remained; and the Jews themselves were so scrupulously observant of the strict purity and integrity of the sacred Text, as to number every letter, and remark how often it occurred. They were actually transcribed in every age, and translations were made into different languages; so that, as copies were multiplied, securities for the purity of the text increased; and forgery and corruption, in any passage of importance, became in the course of time impracticable. The whole religion, and all the civil and sacred establishments of the Jewish people, were founded upon the books of Moses in particular, which were addressed to his contemporaries, that is to those, who had *seen* his miracles, and *heard* his laws from his own mouth, and guarded with the most zealous care the volumes which recorded them. The institutions of Moses

were incorporated into the commonwealth of the Jews; the existence and support of their government depended upon them; and their religion and laws were so interwoven, that they could not be separated. Stillingfleet, book ii, chap. i. Their right to the land of Canaan depended upon their confession of the Sovereignty of God, who gave it to them; and on the truth of the Mosaical history relative to the divine promises made to the Patriarchs. The dissensions which prevailed among the Jews and Samaritans, were such checks upon both parties, as to preserve the text of the Law in a state of purity; and the disputes which prevailed between the Pharisees and Sadducees, served equally to prevent any interpolations in the other books.

Mahomet, the founder of a new religion in Arabia, the acute and determined enemy both of Jews and Christians, who was raised up by Providence to be the scourge of the degenerate Christians of the sixth century, professed his veneration of the Patriarchs and of Moses, and revered the sanctity of the Jewish institutions. (Sale's Al Coran, p. 6, 16, 497, &c.) Sensible of the high esteem in which they were held among all the nations of the East, he has not only intermixed the most important facts related in them, with the absurd contents of his Law, but has endeavoured, from their expressions, to draw arguments in favour of his own mission.* But what is the sanction of the author of the Koran to that given by the writers of the New Testament? The Evangelists and Apostles constantly refer to these sacred books, and more particularly to the Prophecies. They apply, illustrate, explain, and quote abundant texts, not merely as human productions, then popular among their countrymen; but because they contained the commands of God, and were the immediate declarations of the divine will. And, to bring forward an evidence of the highest authority in their favour, the Saviour of the world himself, even He who came expressly from heaven to bear witness of the truth, exhorted the Jews to *search the Scriptures* for that they testified of him. Frequently has he reproved the Jews for their erroneous doctrines and tradition; he never laid to their charge any corruption of their sacred books. At once to prove their

* "They say, become Jews, or Christians, that ye may be directed. Say nay, we follow the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, we believe in God, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the tribes; and that which was delivered unto Moses, and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the Prophets from their Lord, &c." Al Koran, chap. 2. entitled the Cow.

authenticity and divine inspiration, *beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded unto his disciples in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.* In his final instructions to them before his ascension, he reminded them, (I again quote his own most sacred and most decisive expressions,) *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you; that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me.* (Luke xxiv, 44.) Our Lord, by thus adopting the common division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, which comprehended all the Hebrew Scriptures, ratified the Canon of the Old Testament; and by declaring so expressly that those books contained prophecies which must be fulfilled, he established their divine inspiration; since it is an attribute of the Almighty alone to enable men to foretel future events with certainty.*

Abundant witnesses in all succeeding ages can be brought to confirm the authenticity of these holy Scriptures. The Jews, dispersed since the destruction of Jerusalem over all parts of the world, have ever been prepared to suffer any hardship, rather than renounce the commands of their great Lawgiver, and reject the records of their inspired Prophets. They have, in common with the numerous Christian converts, laboured in this pious work of preserving the sacred volume unimpaired by the accidents of time, and uncorrupted by artful interpolation. One generation has transmitted a regular testimony to another, and the chain of evidence has remained unbroken for a series of ages. But where are the pure and unmixed descendants of the Greeks or Romans, to attest the genuineness of *their* most esteemed books? Where are the subjects of Solon, Lycurgus, or Numa, who at this present time conform to the institutions, and are governed by the edicts of these ancient legislators? As no such evidences are known to exist, vain is it to require them.

To the testimony we derive from the *living* descendants of the Israelites, we have nothing similar in the world for the support of ancient writings, because they not only from age to age have asserted, and still continue to assert, their authenticity, under such peculiar circumstances of oppression and foreign dominion; but adhere to the laws contained in the books in question. Their practice is a demonstrative proof of their belief; and this double evidence, consisting in their conviction of the genuineness of the books, and in the

* Bishop of Lincoln's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i, c. i.

direction of their conduct by the rules those books contain, ascends higher and higher into antiquity, till passing through successive ages, we reach the precise times in which Moses and the Prophets flourished.

Convinced by the clearest arguments of the authenticity of the Old Testament, the great Newton esteemed it the proper introduction to the knowledge of profane antiquity. He found that the periods of Judaical generations and descents, which answered to the fabulous ages of Grecian history, were exactly of the same length with those which have been measured in later times, since history has been considered as authentic. He ascertained likewise, that the Hebrew accounts coincided with the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and the general course of nature; and were not like the Grecian and Roman chronology, which is in many cases founded upon improbable and arbitrary suppositions. Furnished with such an important clue to his discoveries, this great astronomer applied the principles of his favourite science to the elucidation of history. By considering the relation which subsisted between the precision of the equinoxes and the lapse of time, he rectified the whole system of profane chronology.* Thus he diffused light over a region of darkness, and rendered the records of the Greeks and Romans clear, consistent, and probable, by the application of these principles: but so far was he from disturbing the order of events, or contradicting the computations of time stated in the sacred Books, that their truth and accuracy were invariably confirmed by his researches. Priestly's Lectures on History, p. 89, &c.

Such are some of the proofs which confirm the authenticity of the Old Testament; and from a review of them we are justified in the conclusion, that in point of strength and authority these proofs are superior to those that can be adduced to support any other ancient writings.

III. The Subjects of the Books, and Characters of the Writers.

The subjects of the Books of the Old Testament are truly wonderful and striking, and of such a nature as to surpass all

* The equinoctial points are found by astronomers to change their places, and go backward or westward, contrary to the order of the signs of the Zodiac. This is called their *precession*. Dr. Bradley supposes it to be a degree in about seventy years: the calculation of Sir Isaac Newton does not amount to so much.

monuments of profane learning, equally in importance as in antiquity. And of all the parts which compose the sacred canon, none are more curious than *Genesis*, the first book written by Moses; because it contains a sketch of the earliest history of mankind. There stand recorded the creation of the world and its inhabitants, the fall of our first parents from their state of innocence and happiness, and their banishment from the garden of Eden; the repeated and signal promises of a future restorer of the lost blessings of mankind; the history of the Patriarchs, honoured by the Revelations of Jehovah; the description of the general deluge; the dispersion of the progenitors of the human race over all the earth; the adoption of a particular family to perpetuate the remembrance, and establish the worship of the true God, and their prosperous settlement in Egypt. Instances indeed are mentioned of early depravity, and the violence of the passions, attended with suitable punishments; yet society appears under its simplest form in point of manners, and we discern no traces of the luxury and false refinement of subsequent times.

In the sacred books of the Jews is recorded an account of the descendants of Israel; a race of men selected from all others, and favoured with successive relations of the divine will. Here are shown the instances of their infidelity, perverseness, and disobedience; their glory, and triumphs; their disgraces, and their subjection to foreign powers. Here is seen the superintendance of a divine and especial Providence watching over innocence, suspending wrath, and taking the most signal vengeance upon unrepented offences. Here are developed the failings of the most virtuous persons, and the obdurate wickedness of confirmed sinners. Here are displayed the mixed characters even of the most excellent men, the eminent examples of faith and piety, of courage and patience, in the conduct of Abraham, Lot, Job, Joseph, Moses, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Daniel. And most interesting is it to observe, that the knowledge of the one true God was communicated to this people, and preserved by them alone; that they had the most sublime ideas of his nature and attributes; that a magnificent temple was erected to his honour; a regular service was instituted; holy ceremonies were performed; an order of priests of one particular family was consecrated; a pure worship was established by his express command, and regulated by his particular laws. Thus were the Jews enlightened by a knowledge of the true object of divine worship; and thus were the purity and holiness of their religious ordinances conducted at a time, when all other na-

tions presented a wide scene of gross superstition and mental darkness; when the rest of the human race, and even the most intelligent and polished nations of Egypt and Greece, showed the most abject degradation of their nature, by prostrating themselves before idols of their own workmanship; and abused the evidence of sense, and the faculty of reason, by imputing to wood and stone the attributes of divine power.

We see likewise a succession of Prophets raised up among them, to communicate the divine will, to warn them of evils and to announce to them blessings to come.* These holy men, ever obedient to the call of heaven, rose superior to all worldly considerations; and with a spirit of intrepidity and independence, which clearly showed that heaven was the source of their reliance, they executed their sacred commissions, unawed by the threats of kings, or the resentment of the people. They foretold remote events in times when they appeared most improbable ever to take place, and when no human foresight, and no calculation of chances, could guide them to the discovery of the particular affairs, which fulfilled their predictions. Moses, in a long and most interesting detail of threats and promises, foretold the exact manner in which his people were ordained to be happy or miserable, according as they followed or disobeyed the divine laws. At a subsequent period, when Jerusalem was laid in ruins, and the Jews were groaning under the sorrows of the Babylonish captivity, Isaiah solemnly addressed Cyrus by his name, more than a hundred years before his birth, as the deliverer of Israel, and the new founder of the Holy City.† When Babylon was shining in the meridian of her glory, and its monarchs ruled over all the nations of the East with the most uncontrolled sway, the same Prophet predicted the total subversion of their empire, and the complete desolation of their vast metropolis. That all these and numerous other predictions were exactly verified by the events, are truths confirmed by the evidence of profane, as well as sacred history. The same inspired Prophets had a much more grand and important object in view, than to declare the future dispensations of Providence to one nation in particular; for they announced in terms at first dark and mysterious, but progressively more clear and circumstantial, the future birth of a Messiah, a glorious King, a divine Legislator, who was to abolish the sacrifices and religious institutions of the Jews,

* Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i. Introductory Chapter, &c.

† Isaiah, B. C. 757. Cyrus, B. C. 589. Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. i, p. 130.

and proclaim and establish a general Law for the observance and happiness of all mankind. Here the Evangelists contribute their aid to illustrate the declarations of the Prophets, and unite the history of the Old with that of the New Testament in the most close and indissoluble bonds of union.

The historical books of Scripture, considered from the giving of the Law to Moses, to the reformation in the worship and government by Nehemiah, after the Babylonish captivity, contain a summary account of the Jewish affairs for a period of eleven centuries*. They were evidently not intended to give a complete detail of national transactions, as their writers had a more sublime and important end in view. To illustrate the prophecies, by relating circumstances which existed at the time when they were uttered, and to show their accomplishment; to record various revelations of the Divine will, and to describe the state of religion among the Hebrews, and the various dispensations of Providence in public as well as in private occurrences, seem to have been their chief objects. Hence it is that the chain of history is sometimes broken into detached parts, and its detail is interrupted by a recital of private transactions. The books of Scripture occasionally assume the form, and comprise the beauties of a very interesting kind of biography. Of this nature are the several accounts of Job, Ruth, and Esther; but they are far from being unconnected with the principal design of the sacred writers; inasmuch as they show that the same divine Providence which presided over the nation at large, extended its particular care to individuals, and that the examples of private virtue were inseparable from the great interests of public welfare and happiness.

The Israelites, for many ages separated from the rest of mankind by their peculiar institutions, were little acquainted with commerce, and made small advances in those arts, which with a refinement, and a diversity of employments, introduce luxury and corruption of manners. They were governed by equal laws, and possessed nearly equal property. They admitted no hereditary distinction of rank, except in favour of the regal tribe of Judah, and the sacerdotal family of Levi. Their occupations from the earliest times were of the most simple kind, and consisted in pasturage and agriculture. To guide the plough, and tend the flock, were employments which, recommended by length of time, were exercised by kings, prophets, and generals. Moses was called

* Moses, B. C. 1571. Nehemiah, B. C. 546. Gray's Key, p. 126.

from feeding his flock, to conduct the Israelites to the promised land; Elisha forsook the plough, to be invested with the mantle of prophecy; and Gideon left the threshing-floor, to lead the army of his country to battle.

The country of Judea presented a scene diversified by fruitful vallies, barren rocks, and lofty mountains, and was watered by numerous streams. It produced the palm-tree, the balsam, the vine, the olive, the fig, and all the fruits which abound in the East. From the labours of the field, and from cultivating the vine, the attention of the Israelites was regularly called by religious worship, which was intimately blended with the civil constitution of the state. The splendour of their public services, the pomp and magnificence of their rites and ceremonies, the stated recurrence of their various festivals and sacrifices, the sabbath, the passover, the celebration of the sabbatical year; and the jubilee; and more than all, the constant experience of divine interposition, filled their minds with the most awful and grand ideas, and gave them the deepest impressions of the majesty, power, goodness, and justice of God.

These were the circumstances, which combining to form their national manners, had the greatest influence upon their writings. The historical style is marked by the purest simplicity of ideas, occasionally raised to a tone of elevation. In the works of Moses there is a majesty of thought, which is most strikingly expressed in plain and energetic language. In the prophetical writings, the greatest splendour and sublimity of composition are conspicuous. They are enriched by those glowing images, and raised by that grandeur of diction, which charm the classical reader in the most admired productions of Greece and Rome. The Royal Psalmist is eloquent, dignified, and pathetic. All the beauties of composition unite in Isaiah, such is the majesty of his ideas, the propriety, beauty, and fertility of his imagery, and the elegance of his language, employed upon the noblest subjects which could possibly engage our attention. Jeremiah excels in those expressions of tenderness, which excite with the most pleasing enthusiasm the feelings of compassion.*

* "Quid enim habet universa poesis, quid concipere potest mens humana grandius, excelsius, ardentius, quid etiam venustius et elegantius, quam quæ in sacris Hebræorum vatum scriptis occurrunt? qui magnitudinem rerum fere ineffabilem verborum pondere et carminis majestate exæquant; quorum cum nonnulli vel ipsis Græcorum poetarum fabulis sunt antiquiores, ita omnes tantu meos *sublimitate* exsuperant, quantum *vetustate* antiquissimi antecedunt." Lowth, Prælect. p. 16. See likewise, p. 7, 8, 21.

By such peculiar beauties of composition are recommended the most interesting details of events and the most faithful delineations of characters. The great Creator calls all things into existence with his omnipotent word. The first parents of mankind, innocent and happy, are blessed with his immediate converse, and enjoy the blooming groves of Paradise. Joseph, the pious, the chaste, and the wise, after having undergone great afflictions, and rising by his own extraordinary merit to an office of the highest honour in the court of Pharaoh, discovers himself in a manner the most pathetic to his repentant brethren, and is restored to his aged and affectionate father, whom he invites into Egypt to share his prosperity. The Children of Israel, guided by the divine Power, which veils its glory in a cloud, pass safely through the Red Sea, in which the hosts of the impious Pharaoh are overwhelmed. Upon the lofty summit of Mount Sinai, Moses receives the two tables of the Commandments, amid the thunder, lightning, clouds, and darkness, which obscure the great Jehovah from his eyes. The royal Psalmist sings the wonders of creation, the powers of his God, and his own defeats and triumphs. The peaceful and prosperous Solomon, whose renown was extended over all the East, rears the structure of the magnificent Temple; and amid the multitudes of his adoring subjects consecrates it to the service of the one true God, in a prayer which equally attests his wisdom and piety. In the visions of futurity, Isaiah beholds the deliverance of the chosen People; the complete destruction of the great empire of Babylon, by which they were enslaved; and the promised Messiah, the Saviour of Mankind, sometimes depressed by want and sorrow, and sometimes arrayed in the emblems of divine majesty and power. He predicts the final recal of the Jews to their native land, and the wide diffusion of the Christian faith. Jeremiah sinks a weeping mourner over the ruins of his native city, deplores its calamities, and consoles his countrymen by expressly declaring, that they should never cease to be a nation to the end of the world. Daniel explains to Belshazzar the mystic characters inscribed upon the walls of his palace, and views in his wide prospect of future times, the fates of the four great empires of the world. Cyrus long before announced by Isaiah as the great subverter of the Babylonish empire, and the restorer of the glory of Jerusalem, publishes his decree for the restoration of the captive Jews: and the holy City and Temple rise from their ruins with new grandeur and magnificence. The Jews are settled and reformed

by the pious care of Nehemiah, and the canon of the Scriptures is closed by Malachi. This last of the Prophets enjoins the strict observance of the Law of Moses, till the great Precursor should appear, in the spirit of Elias, to announce the approach of the Messiah, who was to establish a new and everlasting covenant.*

Such are a few of the interesting circumstances contained in the sacred volume of the Old Testament, which engage our attention, charm our imagination, and gratify our curiosity, while they confirm our belief in the great evidences of Revelation. In all these works we may remark the bright truths of religious instruction shining forth amid the venerable simplicity of the most ancient history, a history unrivalled for the grandeur of the ideas which it conveys, the liveliness of its descriptions, and the number of its beautiful and sublime images.

In these volumes of sacred history there is an *impartiality* of narrative, which is an undoubted characteristic of truth. If we read the Lives of Plutarch, or the History of Livy, we soon discover that these writers composed their works under the influence of many prejudices in favour of their respective countries. A veil is thrown over the defects of their heroes, but their virtues are placed in a strong light, and painted in vivid colours. In the Scriptures on the contrary, both of the Old and New Testament, the strictest impartiality prevails. The vices of David, Solomon, and their successors, are neither concealed nor pallitated. There is no ostentation of vanity, no parade of panegyric; virtue charms with her native beauty, and vice acquires no disguise to conceal her deformity. The characters of persons are sketched, and the effects of the passions are represented without reserve or concealment; and the moral to be drawn from each description is so obvious, as to account for the frequent omission of remarks and applications. The abject condition of the Jews, when prohibited the use of weapons of war by the victorious Philistines; their relapses into idolatry, their perverseness of disposition, and their various defects and captivities, with every circumstance of private as well as public disgrace, are recorded without palliation or reserve. Always rising superior to the motives which induce other authors to violate the purity and degrade the majesty

* For these very impressive passages of the Holy Bible, see Gen. i, ii, xliv, xlv. Exod. xiv, xx. The Psalms. 1 Kings viii. Isaiah ii, vi, ix, x, xi, xiv, xxviii, xxxii, xl, xlii, lx, lxi, lxiii, lxv, and more particularly liii. Lament. i, &c. Daniel v, vii. Ezra vii. Nehem. xiii. Malachi iii, iv.

of truth, these writers keep one great and most important end constantly in view, and show the various methods by which the providence of God effected his gracious designs; how he produced good from evil, and employed the sins and follies of mankind as the instruments of his gracious purposes.

An acquaintance with the affairs of the Jewish nation forms the first link in the chain of ancient records. Thus we may observe the connexion which subsists between the branches of sacred and profane history. We place the works of pagan writers in their proper situation, and give them additional value by making them subservient to the cause of religion, and instrumental in the illustration of revealed truth. If the student is not called upon by professional inducements to drink the sacred streams at their source, by reading the Scriptures in the original language, he may rest contented with translations; and it seems to be a well-founded opinion among the learned, that he may rely with confidence upon the general fidelity of our English version.

To peruse the holy Scriptures is one of the first employments of childhood. We cannot fail to congratulate ourselves that our time has been thus occupied, when our judgment is sufficiently mature to form a comparative estimate of the various productions of literature, and we are fully able to determine their usefulness. And it will be found, as life is verging towards its close, when every other book begins to be insipid and uninteresting, that the HOLY BIBLE, which includes the most ancient records of time, the clearest evidences of a divine revelation, and the joyful promises of eternal happiness, will attract us more and more, as old age advances, and will afford us that divine solace and inexpressible satisfaction which no other writings can give.

"I durst appeal to the judgment of a candid reader, that there is no history so pleasant as the sacred. Set aside the majesty of the inditer, none can compare with it for the magnificence and antiquity of the matter, the sweetness of compiling, the strange variety of memorable occurrences: and if the delight be such, what shall the profit be esteemed of that which was written by God for the salvation of Men? I confess no thoughts did ever more sweetly steal me and time away than those which I have employed in this subject: and I hope none can equally benefit others; for if the mere relation of these holy things be profitable, how much more when it is reduced to use?" *Bishop Hall's Meditations.*

In conformity with these observations as to the excellence

of the Scriptures, was the opinion of the late Sir William Jones, a person, as much distinguished by the soundness of his judgment, as by his extensive and various learning. In the last leaf of his Bible these words were written:* "*I have regularly and attentively read these holy Scriptures, and am of opinion that this volume, independently of its divine origin, contains more simplicity and beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains of poetry and eloquence than can be collected from all other books, in whatever age or language they may have been composed.*"

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

THE country of Greece presents a variety of the most pleasing prospects, as it is well watered by rivers and lakes, divided by lofty mountains and verdant vales, favoured by a happy temperature of climate, and enriched by fertility of soil. The sea abounding with all kinds of marine productions, and affording the most favourable opportunities for commerce, nearly surrounds its winding shores. Such is the appearance of the country, which, according to the most authentic records of history, was made in very early times a settlement of colonists from Egypt and Phenicia, who, mixing with the natives, built towns, and formed several communities independent of each other. These eastern emigrants brought with them many traditions, which, being afterwards blended with early Grecian history, became the copious sources of mythology. The various inventions and arts which they introduced among the original inhabitants of Greece, contributed to augment their comforts, and civilize their manners. And as in the general outlines of their religion, government, and arts, the similarity of the political and religious institutions of the East may be traced, Greece furnishes us with an internal evidence of the origin of her colonists.

In the early period of this history there is so great a mixture of Eastern with Grecian stories, and so much confusion of chronology extending through a long series of oral traditions, that an attempt to separate truth from falsehood is as arduous as it is fruitless. Fully sensible of this difficulty,

* Seward's Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 176.

and desirous of remedying it by a pleasing, although an imperfect expedient, Thucydides and Strabo, who are both remarkable for their accuracy and judgment, have considered Homer in the light of an historian.* That their confidence in the truth of the narrative parts of his Poems was not improperly placed, will appear from considering, that in the rude ages of society the song of the Bard was the only record of past events; and although many of his descriptions may be fictitious, yet some regard to truth, some representation of events and actions which really took place, must have been the ground of the early reputation of the Iliad and Odyssey. The connexion, clearness, and consistency of many anecdotes preserved in them, appear very great, when compared with the dark and uncertain traditions of those early ages. The finished picture of primeval institutions and manners, in the delineation of which Homer descends to many minute particulars, is no less pleasing than satisfactory. He gives a complete view of the religion, government, and arts of his countrymen at the time of the Trojan war, which took place at the very remote period of more than eleven centuries before the Christian era.† A strong argument in favour of his fidelity may be drawn from the accuracy of his geographical descriptions, which have been verified by the actual observation of many intelligent and inquisitive travellers. And it may incline us more readily to concur with Thucydides and Strabo in thinking, that he truly records the leading facts, and fairly represents the state of manners, at the time of the Trojan war, if we recollect, that in the unaffected energy of his descriptions, and his account of the simplicity of ancient manners, he agrees very remarkably with the writers of the Old Testament, and suggests to us the similarity of the character, which prevailed between the Patriarchs of Canaan and the heroes of Greece.

Greece was divided into a number of unconnected states, distinguished by different forms of government, and remarkable for frequent revolutions. Yet as the political importance of them all was for the most part relative, and depended, especially in the latter and more celebrated periods of their history, upon their connexion with Athens and Lacedemon, these distinguished Republics ought to be considered with a more immediate view to their RELIGION, GOVERNMENT, ARTS, MANNERS, and CONQUESTS.

* Thucydides, vol. i, p. 7, 16, 18. Edit. Bipont. Strabo, lib. ii, p. 774.
† Homer flourished B. C. 907 years.

I. The Religion of Greece.

From the Egyptian and other nations, to whom the Greeks were indebted for their earliest laws, they derived their established religion. To the worship of the twelve principal divinities, the gratitude of succeeding ages added the deification of heroes, and legislators renowned for their important services to society. Various degrees of adoration were paid to the Gods, and to the souls of departed heroes. Temples were erected, festivals were instituted, games were celebrated, and sacrifices were offered, with more or less pomp and magnificence, to them all. A regular gradation of immortal beings was acknowledged to preside throughout universal nature, from the Naiad, who was adored as the tutelary guardian of a stream, to Jupiter, the Father of Gods and men, who ruled with supreme power over heaven and earth.

The religion of the people extended little beyond the external honours paid to the Gods of their country, and the attendance upon sacrifices and processions. The sacred ceremonies were magnificent and public, except that the votaries of Bacchus and Ceres were indulged in their secret mysteries. The festivals were observed with every circumstance of pomp and splendour to charm the eye, and please the imagination. A sacrifice was a feast attended with gaiety, and even licentiousness. Every temple was the resort of the idle and the dissolute; and the shrines of the Cyprian Venus, and the Athenian Minerva, could attest that devotion, far from being a pure and exalted exercise of the mind, was only the introduction to dissoluteness and debauchery. Athens was most renowned for the number of her stately edifices, and excelled the rest of the Grecian cities in the frequency and grandeur of her festivals.

The northern regions of Greece were particularly renowned for temples, from whence oracles were issued. The temple of Apollo at Delphi, situated upon a lofty rock near Parnassus, and that of Jupiter in the groves of Dodona, were celebrated for the responses of the Pythia and the priests; they were held in the greatest veneration for many ages; and their oracles were consulted, even in the most enlightened times, by philosophers themselves, who, in this instance, as well as many others, conformed to the popular superstitions.

The spirit of the religion of ancient Greece was included in these principles, that the worship of the Gods was of superior obligation and importance to all other duties, and that

they frequently displayed their power in this world, in the punishment of the bad, and the prosperity of the virtuous: such were the opinions inculcated by the most celebrated philosophers and poets. But the common people, more gratified by the fictions of the received mythology, than by tenets of pure ethics, found in the actions recorded of their gods and goddesses, a sufficient justification of every species of licentiousness.

With respect to a *Future State* of existence, the philosophers appear to have fluctuated in uncertainty; as may be collected from the sentiments of Socrates himself. The poets inculcated a belief in Tartarus and Elysium. Of the former they have drawn a picture in the most gloomy and horrific colours, where men, who had been remarkable for impiety to the Gods, such as Tantalus, Tityus, and Sisyphus, were tortured with a variety of misery, ingeniously adapted to their crimes. The prospect of Elysium is beautiful and inviting, as described by Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar. In that delightful region there is no inclement weather, but the soft Zephyrs blow from the ocean to refresh the inhabitants, who live without care and anxiety; there reign perpetual sunshine and serenity of sky, and the fertile earth thrice in a year produces delicious fruits for their sustenance. These enjoyments were however, not only of a gross and sensual nature, but were limited to persons of rank and distinction. Proteus informs Menelaus, that he shall be conveyed to the islands of the blessed, because he is the husband of Helen, and the son in law of Jupiter. Odyss. iv, l. 56. No incentives to goodness, from the consideration of a future state, are held out by the older poets to the female sex, or to the ignoble or vulgar, however pure their conduct or exemplary their virtues. In later times we find that Pindar extends his rewards to good men in general; but Euripides is sometimes sceptical, and Iphigenia without hesitation expresses her disbelief of the popular mythology.

It is well remarked by the ingenious and learned Jortin, "That it gives us pleasure to trace in Homer the important doctrine of a supreme God, a providence, a free agency in man, supposed to be consistent with fate or destiny; a difference between moral good and evil, inferior gods, or angels, some favourable to men, others malevolent; and the immortality of the soul: but it gives us pain to find these notions so miserably corrupted, that they must have had a very weak influence to excite men to virtue, and to deter them from vice." Jortin, Dissertation vi, p. 245. This ex-

cellent observation may be applied to the state of opinions even in the most enlightened times of Greece, when the credulity and ignorance of the vulgar, and the errors and doubts of the greatest philosophers, proved the *necessity* and the *importance* of the Christian revelation. with respect both to the duties of man, and the incentives to the discharge of those duties, arising from his final destination.

The characters of the two great legislators of Sparta and Athens were evidently very different. Lycurgus was distinguished by the vigour and the inflexibility of his disposition. Solon was mild, circumspect, and compliant. The marks of their tempers were visibly impressed upon their respective political establishments.

II. Sparta.

It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the constitution of Sparta, previous to the time of Lycurgus, any farther than to observe, that there were two hereditary kings, or presidents, whose power he controlled by giving an equal authority to twenty-eight senators.* The kings were commanders of the armies, and high priests of the temples. Of the senators was composed the executive and legislative council of the state, and with them all laws originated. The assembly of the people was invested with the power of electing the senators; they could give a simple negative, or affirmative, to the measures proposed to them, but had no right to discuss their propriety. Lycurgus allotted to every family an equal share of land, prohibited the use of gold and silver, and made iron monney alone current, with a view to check the avarice of his subjects. He forbid foreign travel, lest their morals should be corrupted by an intercourse with effeminate nations. He instituted public tables, at which even the kings of Sparta were required to share the coarsest viands with their people, and to set examples of the most rigid temperance. To produce a hardy and vigorous race of men, he caused the women to be employed in all athletic exercises. The children were carefully inspected as soon as born; the well-proportioned and healthy were delivered to the public nurses; and those who were deformed, or sickly, were exposed to perish in woods and mountains. Celibacy was held disreputable; yet the rights of female honour and marriage were not secured from violation: for provided the child which was born

* B C 884 years. Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus. Mitford's Greece, vol. i, c. v.

by promiscuous intercourse was strong and robust, no inquiry was made to ascertain its father. All the children of the Spartans were considered as the offspring, or rather the property, of the state; and the business of their public education consisted in accustoming them to bear the cravings of hunger and thirst, and endure the scourge of discipline, and every degree of pain, with patience, and even exultation. The passions of the young Spartan were so enflamed by patriotic ardour, and his body was so hardened by constant exercise, as to make him eager to undertake, and powerful to accomplish, every exploit for the glory of his country.

As Lycurgus wished his people to enjoy most complete independence, he provided the means of security against foreign attacks by establishing the strictest military discipline. In order however to guard against the desire of conquest, he forbade his subjects to engage too frequently in war with the same nations. This was the curb by which he endeavoured to restrain their military ardour: the desire of conquest however was a disease inherent in the vitals of his system, and it frequently broke out in succeeding times, as often as any temptation occurred of extending their dominions. By institutions the most severe ever imposed on mankind Lycurgus formed the habits of his people, and even far surpassed other legislators, by regulating their conduct in many circumstances, which are generally supposed not to come within the province of legal restrictions. He prescribed rules of the most rigid abstemiousness, inculcated respect to age, enjoined modesty of behaviour, and promoted the constant intercourse of the old and young. In other governments, many valuable institutions arise out of casual circumstances; the character of the people, and particular situation of affairs, which sometimes direct and impel the legislator in the formation of his system; but in Lacedemon almost every rule seems to have sprung from the comprehensive mind of Lycurgus, and his institutions were eminently his own. Before his death he saw every part of his political machine set in motion. The Spartans exulted in their new strength; and their desire to exert it was so ardent, that they were soon distinguished among the neighbouring states as a warlike and formidable people. For many ages they manifested a firm adherence to the will of their lawgiver; and, not to adduce other examples of their strict adherence to their original institutions, the monument erected in the straits of Thermopylæ, to record the glorious fall of Leonidas, and his brave associates, expressed in an inscription exactly characteristic of the genius and the spirit

of the nation, that they maintained their post to the last extremity, in obedience to the orders of their country.*

The reverence of the Spartans for old age, their abstemiousness, perfect discipline, and great bravery, must not so far blind our judgment, as to induce us to palliate the imperfections of their laws, and the impropriety of their conduct. The honour in which they held the successful perpetration of theft, their cruelty to their slaves, their inhumanity to children, the indelicacy of their conduct to women, and the insensibility and masculine energy of character, with which they endeavoured to inspire them, all unite to mark a ferocious and a barbarous people. The improvement of the mind, and the purest feelings of nature, were sacrificed to severe discipline, and martial occupations. They extended the same rigour to their allies, which they exercised at home; and thus became the objects of hostility and aversion. By a strange inconsistency in their laws, they were trained to arms, but stopped in the career of conquest; they were made a nation of warriors, yet forbidden to pursue a flying enemy, or to enrich themselves with his spoils.

Eminent as they were in the field of battle, both kings and generals were incapable of composing the histories of their campaigns, and no book has ever been transmitted to modern times, written by a genuine Spartan of the Doric race. They preferred the exercise of arms to the cultivation of letters, and left their exploits to be handed down to posterity by their enemies.

During the reign of fourteen successive kings, through the long period of five hundred years, their power and influence were felt throughout Greece; and for a considerable part of that period, the glory of Sparta eclipsed the other states. But in process of time the austere manners of her warriors were relaxed by victory and luxury. The universal applause with which they were welcomed, and the rapacity with which they divided the spoils of Athens, when that city was taken by Lysander, were strong indications of their degeneracy. Of this gradual departure from the institutions of their great legislator, their subsequent venality, luxury, and avarice, were sufficient proofs. Polybius, lib. vi, p. 685, tom. i.

* Herod. lib. vii, sect. 455. Herod. lib. vii, sect. 219. Mitford, vol. i, p. 407. This writer's relation of the battle is peculiarly distinct and accurate. See Plutarch's Lives, vol. i, p. 292.

III. Athens.

A fairer order of civil polity is displayed in the constitution of Athens; a constitution which furnished not only a model for the laws of Rome, but for most of the nations of modern Europe. It was a regular system of jurisprudence, extending to every class of citizens. The most judicious writers agree, that those improvements which formed the peculiar merit of Athens, were introduced by Solon, about two centuries and a half after the reign of Lycurgus.

The situation of Attica naturally directed the attention of its inhabitants to commerce, and naval affairs. They possessed a country, which although fruitful in vines and olives, was not adequate to the support of the inhabitants, without a supply of foreign produce. This deficiency naturally pointed out the sea to them as the proper sphere for their exertions, and in process of time they rose to the highest eminence, as a commercial state; their great intercourse with strangers gave a particular direction to their laws, and promoted that urbanity of manners by which they were so eminently distinguished.

Solon vested the sovereign power in the general assembly of the people, which was composed of free men, whose age exceeded thirty years.* In order to obviate the evils, which a pure and unmixed democracy must unavoidably have produced, when vested with an absolute and uncontrouled authority, he established a balance of power in the council of five hundred. The members of this council were appointed every year by lot, were possessed of certain legal qualifications, and more particularly were obliged to stand the test of a severe scrutiny into their moral character, before they were invested with their high office. They had the direction of all political concerns, and prepared business for the assembly of the people, to whom no measure was proposed without their previous sanction. Solon likewise restored the court of Areopagus, so much celebrated for the pure administration of justice, and the unsullied character of its members, who exercised a judicial power, and tried criminals for capital offences. It was their duty to inspect the general behaviour of the citizens, superintend the conduct of youth, and take care they were educated in a manner suitable to their rank. But their greatest privileges consisted in a power of reversing the decrees of the popular assembly, in

* B. C. 594. Plutarch's Life of Solon. Mitford, vol. i, chap. 6.

rescuing the condemned from their sentence, and condemning the acquitted. Of the justice, impartiality, and wisdom of the Areopagus, in the exercise of their supreme authority, no higher idea can be given than by the lofty panegyric of the great Roman orator, who affirmed, that this council was as essential to the prosperity of Athens, as the providence of the Gods to the government of the world. By the establishment of these two assemblies, a large mixture of aristocracy was infused into the commonwealth, and the administration of public affairs was secured against much of the danger of popular tumult and violence.

In addition to the general assembly of the people, the Areopagus, and the council of five hundred, there were no less than ten courts of judicature; four for criminal, and six for civil causes. Over these presided nine archons, who were invested with great authority, and the magistrate who for the sake of pre-eminence, was styled "the Archon," exercised a religious, as well as a civil jurisdiction. But the merits of the causes, and the validity of the evidence which were submitted to their consideration, were decided by a certain number of men, selected from the citizens at large. This Athenian establishment may bring to our mind one of the most celebrated institutions in the legal polity of Great Britain; and the experience of Englishmen, from the days of the immortal Alfred to the present times, can give the fullest testimony to the general impartiality, steady justice, and singular excellence of our *Trial by Jury*.

Although the number of inhabitants both in Sparta and Athens was considerable, yet the number of those who had a share in the government was small in proportion to the rest. Solon classed his citizens in four divisions; the rich according to their property were enrolled in the first, second, and third; and to the fourth, which included the most indigent, was denied the participation of any employments in the state. The number of slaves when compared to citizens was very large. From a computation made in the time of Demetrius Phalerius, it appears, that there were more than twenty thousand Athenians qualified to vote in the public assembly; at the same time, the slaves in actual bondage amounted to twenty times that number. (B. C. 317.) Plutarch has enabled us to ascertain the numbers of the Lacedemonians at one particular period, as he states, that by the division of their lands a competent subsistence was procured for thirty-nine thousand families. Their slaves appear not to have been fewer in proportion than those of Athens, even after the cruel mas-

sacres to lessen their number. It was not merely by the effects of conquests, that so many were reduced to a servile state, as was the case of the unfortunate Helots; but many of the citizens of Athens were driven by extreme indigence to sell themselves to the wealthy.

Fully convinced how much such employments would contribute to the welfare of his country, Solon gave the greatest encouragement to agriculture and commerce; and thus pointed out to his countrymen the true and permanent sources of comfort and opulence. Such was the liberal spirit of his laws, that the rich while they exerted power, could not oppress the poor, who were allowed the enjoyment of considerable privileges. The tyrant Pisistratus and his successors infringed this fair and equitable plan of government, (B. C. 560.) and the struggles of the Athenians for their rights in succeeding times, conspired, with other causes, to involve them in wars with the Persians. Greater concessions, made to the populace at various times, contributed still more to undermine the institutions of Solon; and before the age of Demosthenes, the ancient spirit of the constitution was extinguished, and the whole direction of the state was abandoned to the arts of factious and venal demagogues.

The different laws of Sparta and Athens produced, in the course of time, a corresponding difference in their manners. The performances of the theatre, the popular assemblies, and the sacred festivals, employed the inhabitants of Athens, while the Spartans, indulging in no amusement or relaxation, were incessantly busied in the exercises of war. The streets of Athens resounded with the lively notes of music, and their songs were dictated by the tender passions of pity and love: the poets of Sparta rehearsed only the stern virtues of departed heroes, or roused her sons to martial exploits by the description of battles, victory and death. In Athens the sportive sallies of wit, and the gay images of fancy, gave a peculiar vivacity to social intercourse: the seriousness of a Spartan was manifested in his cautious reserve, his grave deportment, and the peculiar conciseness of his sharp and pointed repartee; the virtues of a Spartan were gloomy and austere; the dissipation of an Athenian was engaging and agreeable. The one was an illiterate soldier, whose character was formed by martial discipline alone; the other was a man of genius, of taste, and of letters, who enjoyed the advantages of refinement and knowledge.* The moroseness of the Spartan was

* This contrast of character is finely touched by Pericles in his celebrated Oration on the Athenians slain in the Peloponnesian war, Thucyd. lib. 2, p. 57. tom. 2. Editor. Bipont.

increased by holding no intercourse with other nations; whereas by the laws of Solon, strangers were invited to Athens, and were admitted to all the privileges of citizens. In Athens liberty of action was shown in every indulgence of social pleasure; in Lacedemon the spirit of society, divested of its charms to amuse and to enliven, was made subservient to the affairs of the state. The temper of Lacedemon was depressed by excessive subjection, while that of her rival, rendered arrogant and vain by licentiousness, was remarkable for a restless activity, and capricious fickleness. Impatient both of freedom and slavery, these great republics had few principles in common except glory and ambition; and they continually embarrassed each other in the execution of their respective projects to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. The spirit of independence, however, was for the most part predominant in the other states; and the yoke either of Sparta or Athens was regarded as heavy and intolerable. Discordant as their respective interests were, a train of events succeeded, which caused them to suspend their animosities, to unite in a general alliance, and to equip their fleets, and lead forth their armies, not only to repel a formidable invasion, but to avert the storm which threatened the destruction of their political existence.

Among the colonies of Greece, settled upon the coasts of Asia Minor, the Ionians occupied the most pleasant and fertile territories. In order to resist the force of the Persian power, which was exerted to crush their insurrection, they solicited the aid of Athens, their mother country. Reinforced by her assistance, they burnt the ancient city of Sardis; and although they were defeated after the accomplishment of this daring enterprise, the resentment of the Persian monarch was roused to inflict vengeance on the Athenians for their interference.* Such was the immediate cause of those memorable wars, which contributed to mature the martial genius of the Greeks; and the interesting accounts of which, gave splendour, dignity, and glory, to the most authentic pages of their history.

The train of events, to which this dissention led, involved likewise the most important interests of the Persians; for the wars, begun upon slight grounds with the Greeks, terminated at last in the subversion of their empire.

* Herodot. lib. vii, sect. 382. edit. Wesseling. Mitford, vol. i, p. 315.

IV. The most glorious Age of Greece.

Of all the expeditions recorded in ancient history, that which was carried on against Greece by the Persians is mentioned as the most formidable, whether the great forces which were brought into the field, or the obstacles which they surmounted previous to their engagement with their enemies, be considered. The minute and exact relation given by Herodotus of the vast preparations made by Xerxes, and the ardour with which he pursued his romantic enterprise, contribute to raise the reputation and glory of the Greeks to the highest pitch, when we consider the apparently inadequate means of their defence and resistance. (Herod. lib. vii, sect. 391, &c.) Yet what was the success of the vain despot of innumerable hordes of undisciplined barbarians, when opposed to the determined valour and confirmed discipline of regular armies, commanded by generals of consummate talents and approved experience? The Historian above mentioned will give us the most satisfactory answer to this question.*

The signal victory obtained in the plains of Marathon over the Persians, was effected by the sagacity, experience, and valour of Miltiades.† The fall of Leonidas and his illustrious Spartans in the straits of Thermopylæ, taught Xerxes to respect their unexampled prowess, and to regret a victory obtained over a small band of heroes, by the loss of the choicest soldiers of his army. (B. C. 480.) The Athenians, abandoning their native city, trusted their fortune to the sea, and under the conduct of Themistocles, engaged the fleet of Xerxes near the island of Salamis.‡ From a lofty throne on Mount Egialos the Persian monarch observed the fatal action, and witnessed the total destruction of his vast navy. Æschyli Persæ, l. 463, &c. The battle of Platæa, established the renown of Pausanias, and his victory was rewarded with the costly spoils of the Persian camp. On the

* The Greek Historians vary in their accounts of the number of people who followed Xerxes to the invasion of Greece, from 2 to 6 millions. Those who have any knowledge of military affairs assure us that it is utterly impossible to conduct such a multitude of people through any country, and much more to conduct *undisciplined barbarians* through a very extensive, and, probably, uncultivated country. The whole story is a ridiculous fable, and believed by none but classical scholars, whose judgment is warped by the prejudices of education. See Richardson's Dissertations. Editor.

† B. C. 490. Herodot. lib. vi, sect. 109. Mitford, vol. i, c. 9.

‡ B. C. 480. Mitford's Greece, vol. i, p. 389, &c. Herodotus, lib. viii, sect. 485. Plutarch, vol. i, p. 280, 303.

same day the Greeks were equally successful at the promontory of Mycale in Ionia, where they devoted the rich camp and powerful fleet of the enemy to the flames. These signal events restored liberty to the fairest portion of Asia, where the Greek colonies were planted, and completely frustrated the designs of Xerxes to enslave the nations of Europe. At a later period, the astonishing retreat of the ten thousand, who had espoused the cause of the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, under the command of the youthful Xenophon, through a long tract of hostile country, kept alive the spirit of superiority, and taught Alexander the Great that the conquests of the East might be achieved by Grecian troops. B. C. 354.

For half a century after the repulse of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, Athens maintained, without controul, the preeminence of her power. The farther progress of the Athenians, in extending their dominions, was assisted by colonization and commerce. Their navies rode the seas in triumph, and their merchants exchanged the superfluous productions of Attica for the choicest fruits of distant countries. The large and fertile island of Eubœa was numbered among their territories; their dominion extended over the Asiatic coast for the space of a thousand miles, from Cyprus to the Thracian Bosphorus, and over forty intermediate islands. They planted colonies on the winding shores of Macedon and Thrace, and commanded the coasts of the Euxine Sea from Pontus to Chersonesus Taurica, or Crim Tartary. These trophies of naval power were erected, not over ignorant barbarians, but over men who had the same language and laws, the same arts and lineage, who had every thing common with their mother country, except skill in navigation, and prowess in the field.

And here we pause to contemplate the striking qualities of those chiefs, who distinguished themselves so much in the service of liberty and Greece, when the Persians were driven from her shores. The illustrious persons, who most contributed to raise Athens to its highest pitch of martial glory were Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, and Aristides. Miltiades united the most acute penetration into the designs of the enemy, to a perfect acquaintance with his own army; and when it was necessary to hazard an engagement, he always displayed his talents in choosing such a field of battle as gave him a decided advantage. Themistocles acquired the greatest renown by directing the whole attention of his countrymen to naval affairs, and secured the command of

the ocean. Aristides, equally illustrious for his integrity, steadiness, and moderation, shared the glory of Miltiades in the plains of Marathon, and was eminently distinguished by his military talents both at Salamis and Platæa. By his judicious conduct he strengthened the Grecian confederacy, and provided ample supplies for the continuance of the war. Cimon, equal in courage to Themistocles and Miltiades, and superior in integrity of conduct; the liberal and disinterested benefactor of his indigent countrymen, brought the navy of Athens to such a state of perfection, and encountered the enemy with such success, that Persia, degraded and beaten both by sea and land, was confined to the limits of her own empire.

It is however melancholy, after viewing these illustrious persons in the meridian of their fame, to remark the storms of misfortune which obscured and harassed some parts of their lives. Miltiades, persecuted by a relentless faction, died in prison, of the wounds he had received in the service of his country. (Mitford, vol. i, p. 351. Vol. ii, p. 33, 85, &c.) Aristides, Themistocles, and Cimon were condemned to exile; and Phocion, the despiser of the gold of Alexander, and the successful opposer of the Macedonians, suffered death by a decree of the people. Such were the rewards bestowed upon persons the most eminent for military talents and public services under a democratical government!* The hatred even of that honourable ambition which was excited by the praise of the people themselves, and encouraged by their most distinguished favours; the most trifling apprehension of an invasion of their liberty, the jealousy of aspiring talents, and a temper capricious and volatile, hurried the popular assemblies of Athens into acts of cruelty, ingratitude, and oppression, against the most deserving patriots, and their greatest benefactors.

Nor was less severity in many instances exercised against artists and philosophers. Phidias, the most excellent of sculptors, was falsely accused of embezzling part of the gold he had received for decorating the statue of Minerva, and closed his life in prison. (B. C. 432.) Anaxagoras, who founded the principles of a pure philosophy, upon the investigation of the works of nature, was prosecuted for a charge of impiety, and driven into exile. Even Socrates, his amiable and unoffending disciple, the reformer of the corrupt manners of youth,

* The author neglects to inform his readers that the Grecian and Roman populace were as ignorant and brutal as savages, and more vicious than civilized people. Editor.

and the teacher of the most rational and sublime morality that ever was inculcated by a heathen sage, became the victim of party cabal and popular ridicule, and was condemned to suffer death. B. C. 400.

We have already observed that these were not the only sufferers under the Grecian forms of government. The most numerous class of the inhabitants of Greece consisted of slaves, a description of persons, who, without any regard to their possessing the same powers and faculties, both of body and mind, as their masters, were wholly abandoned to the mercy of their despotic will. They were employed in the most degrading occupations, and, without enjoying the privilege of appealing for redress to the civil magistrate, or speaking in their own defence in a court of justice, were, upon the most trivial pretences, chastised with blows and scourging, and condemned to the rack. No hopes of future good alleviated their hard condition; for although with a degree of refined policy their increase was encouraged, they had nothing to bequeath to their offspring but an inheritance of misery, and a condition of degraded humanity, worse than that of the brute creation.*

In Athens, it must be confessed, they were treated with less cruelty, allowed more freedom of conduct, and were in many cases permitted to claim the protection of the laws. Their courage in war was sometimes recompensed by the gift of liberty; yet even in a state which boasted to be the nurse of freedom, and the mistress of refinement, there was a public slave market. The Spartans disdained the occupations of agriculture and trade, and committed every low and mechanical employment to the wretched descendants of the inhabitants of Helos, whose city they had rased for refusing to pay them tribute. In return for their faithful services, these unfortunate men were treated in the most rigid and barbarous manner, and the dexterity with which their inhuman masters could surprise and destroy an enemy by ambuscade, was frequently practised upon their wretched domestics, while labouring in large parties in the fields.

The conduct of the Greeks to their slaves seems to prove, that they esteemed liberty and its blessings their own exclusive privilege. It is indeed a singular inconsistency in their character, that at the time when they were exercising despotic sway over their wretched domestics, the orators were employed in the most severe invectives against arbitrary

* Mitford, vol. i, p. 210, 254, 270. Plutarch's Lives, vol. i, p. 139. Porter's Antiquit. vol. i, p. 55.

power, and all Greece was roused to oppose the tyrants of Persia and Macedon. Rome also, even in the periods of her history most remarkable for the extent of knowledge, refinement, and civilization, boasted of the multitude of her slaves. Their wrongs and their afflictions fixed a stain upon the nation equally indelible with that of Greece. In *modern* times, the same oppressive institution has been continued, but attended with circumstances of cruelty respecting the modes by which slaves are procured, which would put a Roman, or a Greek to the blush. The innocent and wild natives of the forests and deserts are snatched from their beloved shores, torn from every tender connexion, and condemned to imprisonment and chains, during a tedious and painful voyage, which is only a prelude to greater afflictions. The lamentations of Africa, for the loss of her unoffending natives, are heard from Guinea to the Cape of Good Hope. The eternal laws of justice, the tears of humanity, and the mild and merciful principles of Christianity, call for an abolition of this infamous traffic in human flesh. But the greedy Europeans, even those who disgrace the names of Protestants and of Englishmen, listen only to the voice of avarice: their miserable slaves are still condemned to drag the galling chains of bondage, while many of their rigid masters are regardless of their entreaties, their sufferings, and even of their despair.

V. Grecian Women.

The Grecian women continued to be kept in seclusion and retirement, even in the most refined times, from a respect to ancient customs. Their residence was limited to a remote part of the house, which took its name from its particular destination to their use: they were visited by no persons but their nearest relations, and when they went from home they were obliged by law to be attended by a slave, carrying a lighted torch. Their time was engaged by the employments of the distaff and the shuttle, and by the care of bringing up their children. Such a mode of life was not only calculated to inspire them with modesty and diffidence, which is natural to persons unaccustomed to promiscuous conversation and public life, but to cherish the growth of all domestic virtues. One of the greatest orators of Athens gives a lively idea of this recluse state, by asserting that it was the highest honour to a woman not to be the object of either public praise or censure. Amid the turbulent concerns of democratical government, and the activity of military expeditions, no leisur-

was found for the sexes to improve the arts of conversation, enlarge the sphere of their knowledge, and polish their manners. The female character was degraded, the passion of love was coarse and indelicate, and the women were looked upon rather as the slaves than the equals of men. Their education was totally neglected, and little value was set upon those female accomplishments, which combined with the charms of beauty, and native elegance of mind, have so much influence in improving the manners of the moderns.*

It seems probable that this may be relied upon as a just picture of the modest women of Athens. During the period we are considering, courtesans skilled in all the arts of seduction, were numerous throughout Greece, and their profession was countenanced by men of the first eminence. B. C. 440. The beautiful Aspasia, born at Miletus, the chief city of Ionia, was the first who introduced Asiatic elegance into Europe. She had the gratification to add Pericles to the list of her admirers, and gained so complete an ascendency over him, that he was accused of engaging his country in wars to avenge his quarrels. Under his sanction she formed a society of courtesans, whose arts were employed to attach the young Athenians to her interest. Such were the charms of her conversation that Socrates himself, his accomplished pupil Alcibiades, the men of letters, and the most celebrated artists, frequently repaired to her house. This circumstance may furnish a proof of the low state of mental accomplishments in the virtuous part of the sex, even during the most refined period of Grecian history.

The splended train of success which rewarded the valour of Athens in the fifth century before Christ, forms the most glorious era in her annals. In the early parts of this history it is necessary to have recourse to very obscure and uncertain accounts to satisfy our inquiries: sometimes we must be content with the descriptions of poets, and the fables of tradition, and we must acquiesce in conjecture, where authentic memorials are not to be obtained. But with respect to this illustrious period, the difficulty consists rather in the selection, than in the discovery of materials. The treasures of information are rich and various, as these topics of ancient glory have been recorded by the diligence of historians, adorned by the eloquence of orators, and heightened by the invention of poets. The light of genius diffuses its most splendid radiance over objects, which were not only endeared

* Mitford, vol. ii, p. 119. Anacharsis, vol. i, p. 438. Millar's Origin Ranks, p. 112.

to all the writers of Greece by the attachment of patriotism, but supplied the best foundations for their literary fame. The triumphs obtained over the Persians are consecrated to endless renown by the works of Æschylus, Lysias, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon.*

Our surprise, when we remark the small number of those Greeks, who on such distinguished occasions vanquished very superior numbers of Persians, will be diminished when we consider the comparative state of military education and discipline. The Greeks acquired by their gymnastic exercises a robust constitution, and agility of limbs. The successful competitor for the crown of victory, by running the race, hurling the spear, or driving the chariot, obtained no less renown for himself than he reflected on his family and his country; and he was exalted in the opinion of the applauding multitudes to the summit of human felicity. The post of honour in battle was the reward of his courage, alacrity, and skill in the Olympic contests. Their frequent exercise in war enured the Greeks to hardships and fatigue, and accustomed them to those rapid movements in the field, which frequently decided the fate of armies. Those who signalized themselves in the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, had before obtained rewards at the public games. There the flame of emulation was kindled, which afterwards burned with inextinguishable ardour, wherever they stimulated each other by the most powerful considerations, to fight for the temples of their gods, the tombs of their ancestors, and the safety of their wives and children.

Their close and firm phalanx, formed of the most robust and hardy youth in the front ranks, and the most steady veterans in the rear, was scarcely to be resisted by any superiority of undisciplined numbers. Upon their heads they wore helmets of iron, their bodies were covered with coats of mail, and protected by massy bucklers, their legs were fenced with brazen greaves and their offensive weapons were two-edged swords, and long spears. The Persians on the contrary, in comparison with the troops of Greece, formed only an irregular crowd, composed of various nations.† Their weapons

Æschylus flourished B. C. 485. Herodotus 445. Thucydides 426. Lysias 412. Xenophon 400. Isocrates 377. Demosthenes 350.

† Travels of Anacharsis, vol. ii p. 134, 167. Mitford's Greece, vol. i, p. 366. There is a full and poetical enumeration of the troops that followed Xerxes, in the beginning of the *Persæ* of Æschylus. He describes what he saw, for he fought at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa. He represents the Persian army as chiefly consisting of cavalry, and armed in the manner I have mentioned.

of attack were darts, and bows and arrows; their left hands supported light targets of osier; upon their heads they wore silken turbans, and their bodies were covered with plates of thin metal. But their inferiority, when compared with their enemies, was in no respect so manifest, as in the want of emulation and public spirit. Their minds were enervated by the enjoyment of wealth and luxury, and fettered by the bondage of tyranny. They were insensible to that love of glory, and to that pure and disinterested spirit of enterprise, which fired the breast of every Grecian soldier, and prompted him to seek the field of battle, as the noblest sphere for the exercise of his talents.

"While the army of Xerxes was recommencing their march from Thermopylæ, some Arcadians were tempted by the fame of the great king's riches and liberality to offer their services to him. Herodotus seems to relate their story, not more for the purposes of eulogy, than of admonition to his country. They were introduced, he says, to the presence of Xerxes, and being asked what was doing in Greece, they answered with great simplicity, that it was the season of the Olympian games, and that consequently the Greeks were amusing themselves with seeing athletic exercises and horse-races. Being again asked what was the reward of the conquerors in those games, they answered, an olive garland. Upon which Tritantæchmes, a prince of the blood-royal of Persia, exclaimed, O Mardonius, what a people have you brought us to fight against, who contend among themselves, not for riches, but for virtue!" Mitford's Greece, vol. i, p. 394.

CHAPTER V.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE CONTINUED.

Arts and Literature.

THE same spirit of competition which roused the Grecian cities to contend for victory and renown, excited them to a rivalry of talents. As soon as the apprehensions of danger from the inroads of barbarians were removed, they began to cultivate the arts of elegance; and the defeat of the Persian power, and the death of Alexander the Great, con-

taining an intermediate space of 180 years, displayed the genius of Greece shining with its brightest splendour. The name of the painter and the sculptor was celebrated in festivals; their works were exhibited at the public games, and they were reputed to confer, by every specimen of their art, distinguished honour upon their country. The monuments of their talents reflected lustre upon their character, and gave it the highest respectability; as it was their noble province to express the likeness of heroes, and to embody the perfections of the gods.* To be publicly distinguished with higher honours than his competitors, was the great object of the artist, and his unremitting and ardent efforts to excel them gave to his works that grace, beauty, and spirit, that exquisite expression of passions, and appropriate dignity of character, which mark the Venus de Medici, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Laocoon. And if the opinion of some Modern connoisseurs be well founded, that these admirable statues are the productions of *later* artists, what must we conclude the *originals* of such masterly copies to have been? Certainly such as to raise our ideas to the highest pitch of attainable perfection.

The arts called forth by the most lively images the great events and characters of history. Every public edifice in Athens was filled with the statues of warriors, magistrates, legislators, philosophers and orators. In one place stood Miltiades, frowning destruction on Persia; in another, the placid Socrates, the thoughtful Solon, and the empassioned Demosthenes. Every street presented an Athenian with some striking example of valour, wisdom, or patriotism. Wherever he turned his eyes he saw some monument raised to perpetuate the renown of his ancestors; and the precious tribute of the arts, so liberally paid to all persons of genius, courage, and virtue, gave the keenest excitement to the display of every species of excellence.

Thus is displayed to our view a prospect most delightful to every cultivated mind; for we behold Greece in her most

* For the causes of the superiority of the Greek artists, see Winkelmann's elegant and pleasing work, tom. ii, p. 1, &c. A beautiful chapter on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Arts in Greece, may be found in tom. 1. p. 37. tom. ii, c. 1. For a beautiful description of the Venus de Medici see Spence's Polymetis, p. 66. Winkelmann, tom. ii, p. 75—the Apollo Belvidere, Spence, p. 83. Winkelmann, tom. iii, p. 195.— the Laocoon, tom i, p. 68.

"The most famous *apographum* or copy of our day is the Venus de Medici. The attitude of this statue, like the works of Polycletus, proves it to be a copy of the Venus of Gnidus, and the inscription it bears is regarded by Mr. Marietti as another forgery." Pauw, vol. ii, p. 70.

flourishing state, adorned by literature, arts, and sciences. The nature of the country was congenial with the temper of its inhabitants, and their eyes were familiarised to rapid streams, craggy mountains, venerable forests, and fertile vales. Romantic objects, presented to them on all sides, waked the enthusiasm of the mind, and charmed the imagination. Greece indeed, exhibited a most extraordinary scene; for at a period, when all surrounding nations were obscured by intellectual darkness, and were barbarous and unpolished, her sons unfolded the full powers of their transcendent genius. The active intellect, not enervated by the luxuries of refinement, nor distracted by a multiplicity of objects, exerted itself with ardour, followed up many of its inventions with perseverance, and soared to the most astonishing heights of the beautiful and the sublime. To other countries they were doubtless indebted for some rude and imperfect essays of art, science, and philosophy; but it was their peculiar glory to shape them into beauty, and methodise them into system.

Homer, the great Father of Epic song, first invoked the muses, charmed the ear with the matchless harmony of his numbers, and presented in his incomparable works the most striking pictures of ancient manners, the nicest discriminations of character, and the most beautiful prospects of nature.* To the invention of a poet he unites the feelings of a philanthropist. He celebrates the arts which sustain and adorn human life, and breathes the most lively sentiments of piety, patriotism, and social affection. As he describes those miseries of man which spring from dishonour, discord, and war, there is an air of deep solemnity diffused over his poems; and in this respect, as well as in his picture of primeval manners, there is a close affinity to the books of the Old Testament. His genius, like the Jupiter he describes, is supreme in majesty when compared with that of all other poets, and is never exerted in a manner which harmonizes so perfectly with its powers, as when he soars to the sublime. Among the numerous circumstances which may be related to his praise, it is surely not the least extraordinary, that the beauty and contrivance of his fables, the harmony of his numbers, and the various exertions of his genius, elevated at once by *one mighty effort* the dignity of epic poetry to such a pitch of perfection, that almost all the merit of succeeding poets has consisted in following, without being able to overtake him.

* B. C. 907. For a glowing passage on the genius of Homer, the source of the beauties of the tragedy, painting, eloquence, and sculpture of Greece, see Anacharsis, vol. i, p. 105.

The tragic muse gradually improved her charms, gained the full dignity of her character, and spoke the genuine language of the passions. She animated the Greeks with that original spirit of dramatic excellence, which the Romans, however fond of theatrical exhibitions, found to be unattainable.

She first enlivened the scenes of ÆSCHYLUS with wild sublimity, (B. C. 485.) gave beauty and grace to the polished and energetic SOPHOCLES, and taught EURIPIDES to breathe his pathetic and moral strains. B. C. 433. Comedy amused the Athenians in its ruder state with the coarse licentiousness and broad humour of ARISTOPHANES, and in its more pleasing and elegant garb, charmed them with the chaste sentiment and diversified characters of MENANDER. B. C. 320. To this admired writer, the greatest ornament of the new comedy, are ascribed no less than 105 plays. Only the titles of 73, and some short fragments, have escaped the ravages of time. The style of these precious relics is pure and elegant, and the turn of thought is serious and severe. Of the vivacity of his comic powers, the artifice of his plots, or the excellence of his characters, we can form no juster idea than from the imitations of Terence. Such was the high estimation in which Quintilian held his productions, as to assert that he esteemed them sufficient to form the character of an orator, and that Menander had eclipsed all other comic writers by the dazzling splendour of his genius. Quint. lib. x, c. i.

Of the sublime flights of PINDAR, the celebrated bard of Thebes, we can only judge by his few remaining *Odes*, which are said to be far inferior to his *Hymns* unfortunately lost. He celebrates the victors in the sacred games of Greece, particularly Hiero of Syracuse and Theron of Agrigentum, and rehearses the praises of the cities from whence they sprang. His diction is strong, his images bold, various, and vivid, his transitions rapid, and his numbers irregular. Modern imitations of his manner, except a few by Horace, Dryden, and Gray, are tame and spiritless; and are no more to be compared to his grandeur of thought, and truly poetical fire, than pictures of the eruption of Ætna, which is a favourite subject of his description, are to the *real* appearance of that mountain.

> "Forth from whose nitrous caverns issuing rise
> Pure liquid fountains of tempestuous fire,
> And veil in ruddy mists the noon-day skies;
> While wrapt in smoke the eddying flames aspire,

Or gleaming through the night with hideous roar,
Far o'er the reddening main huge rocky fragments pour."
WEST'S PINDAR.

At a much later period THEOCRITUS described the rural manners and romantic scenes of Sicily, in his Pastorals, which like the roses glittering with the dew-drops of the morning, are fresh from the hand of nature, and ever attract us with the charms of originality.

Among the various branches of composition, an early attention was paid to history. HERODOTUS recorded the affairs of the ancient world, as well as some of the most glorious proofs of Grecian valour, in an easy and unaffected narrative;* and a model of authentic and accurate detail was given to mankind by the grave and impartial THUCYDIDES. Through his obscurity a certain brightness sometimes appears, which like the flashes of lightning in a dark night, breaks forth, and dazzles his readers. The divine SOCRATES allured his countrymen to virtue by the charms of familiar conversation, and brought the most useful kind of knowledge from the schools of philosophy to reform the manners of his countrymen. His labours to turn their attention from abstruse and frivolous speculations (founded upon the erroneous principles of Aristotle) to the amendment of their conduct, form a curious epoch in the history of the human mind.† To two of his most enlightened disciples we are indebted for the interesting detail of his conversations, sentiments, and actions. Their respective defences or apologies support the dignity of their injured master's character, are strongly marked by the peculiar disposition of the writers, and coincide in the principal topics of vindication. PLATO, who united the fancy of the poet with the wisdom of the moralist and the subtlety of the metaphysician, adorned the lessons of philosophy with the luxuriant flowers of fancy, and applied his ardent and deep speculations to trace the great author of the universe through the display of his works, and to prove the immortal nature of the soul. B. C. 400. XENOPHON the scholar, the warrior, and the sage, among other excellent

* For a general account of the Greek historians, see Rollin's Arts and Sciences, vol. iii, p. 30.

Monboddo, in vol. iv, b. ii, c. 10, of his Origin and Progress of Language, has given a very excellent account of the style, history, and character of Herodotus. See likewise Warton on Pope, vol. ii, p. 385. and Athenian Letters, vol. i, p. 151.

† For an excellent account of the philosophy of Socrates, see Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ, part ii, p. 46. Gillies, vol. i, p. 476, and vol. ii, p. 94.

productions, recorded the retreat of himself and his brave countrymen, through hosts of barbarous foes, in a circumstantial and animated narrative; and, combining the beauties of fiction with the tradition of history, portrayed in the elder Cyrus the character of an accomplished monarch. All his works are interspersed with the most engaging sentiments of morality, and charm with the matchless grace of genuine simplicity. Harris's Hermes, p. 423. ARISTOTLE the most eminent scholar of Plato, did not embrace the sublime opinions of his great master upon divine subjects, nor copy his florid style of writing. B. C. 345. His various works are remarkable for a simplicity and a severity of composition. Authoritative and profound in all his opinions, he carried his indefatigable researches not only into natural, political, and moral subjects, but investigated the principles of elegant literature, and applied his judgment to the critical examination of the various branches of poetry and eloquence. As a logician he reigned with despotic sway over the schools of Europe for many ages, but by a revolution, common to human opinions, many of his works, in the present times, are more admired than studied.*

The liberty of Greece gave free scope to the efforts of public speakers. The Athenians were gratified with listening to the speeches of the artful Lysias, the bold Demades, the polite and empassioned Hyperides, the severe Lycurgus, and the diffuse and learned Æschines. But the palm of eloquence, thus contended for by his countrymen, is justly assigned to the celebrated author of the Philippics. Severe and majestic energy is the characteristic of the sentiments and language of DEMOSTHENES. He was too serious and too dignified to aim at the ornaments of style, except such as were manly and appropriate; he was too ardent to be diffuse, and too eager for action to waste his time upon the circuitous arts of mild persuasion. It was his great object to astonish by unexpected flashes of thought, to terrify by lively images of danger, and to convince by the most impressive, and most conclusive arguments. While he roused his slothful and procrastinating countrymen to check the advances and revenge the aggressions of Philip of Macedon, who was both a crafty and powerful enemy, his orations equally proved the degeneracy of their manners, and the sublimity of his own

* The logic and physics of Aristotle kept mankind in ignorance of true philosophy, for two thousand years, and were at last exploded by that great benefactor of mankind, lord Bacon. See Tatham's Chart and Scale of Truth, vol. i. Editor.

genius. And what must have been the commanding power of his *delivery*, to which even Æschines, his great and able rival, according to his own candid acknowledgment, could not do justice! The energy of his manner, the modulation of his voice, and dignity of his action, corresponded with the force and the compass of his reasoning, and combined to form the orator, to whom is deservedly assigned the foremost place in the records of eloquence.*

To the Greeks we owe the improvement, if not the invention of grammar, logic, criticism, metaphysics, music, geometry, medicine, and astronomy; and many of the terms peculiar to each of these arts and sciences, clearly point out the country from which we have derived them. The refined invention of builders embellished their cities with those regular, well proportioned, and elegant specimens of architecture, which displayed the various forms of the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian orders. Athens was filled with temples, theatres, porticos, and vestibules, of matchless symmetry and grandeur; and the pencils of Zeuxis, Parrhasius, and Polygnotus, and the chisels of Alcamenes, Phideas, and Polycletus, decorated them with the most beautiful pictures, busts, and statues. The religion of the Greeks was peculiarly favourable to the exertions of artists, and their sacrifices, assemblies, and processions, were equally well adapted to painting, bas-relief, and sculpture. These artists animated the Parian marble, and gave life and passion to the glowing canvass. The continual view of the human body in the baths, and at the public games, familiarised the artists to the contemplation of forms the most elegant, and attitudes the most graceful. They copied the fairest appearances of nature, and by combining the scattered beauties of various persons in one subject, gave no very inadequate representation of that ideal excellence, which filled their glowing imaginations. Theirs likewise was that exquisite judgment, the companion of ge-

* "The Roman orator is too florid and rhetorical, his figures are too striking and palpable, the divisions of his discourse are drawn chiefly from the rules of the schools. The manner of Demosthenes is more chaste than that of Cicero. Could it be copied, its success would be infallible over a modern assembly. It is rapid harmony exactly adjusted to the sense: it is vehement reasoning, without any appearance of art: it is disdain, boldness, anger, and freedom, involved in a continued stream of argument: and of all human productions the orations of Demosthenes present to us the models which approach the nearest to perfection." Hume's Essays, vol. i, p. 109. Travels of Anacharsis, vol. ii, p. 116. The character of his genius, vol. v, p. 184. Leland's Preface to his Translation of Demosthenes, 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th Philippic, and 1st, 2d, and 3d, Olynthiac Orations.

nius, which instantly selecting from art or nature whatever was excellent, gave to their works an irresistible charm. Such indeed was the diffusion of taste, that even the common people, by constantly surveying the finest specimens of painting and sculpture, and hearing the most finished compositions recited in the theatres and public assemblies, became qualified to appreciate, with correct judgment, the various productions of their countrymen.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

AFTER such a digression as the foregoing, which it may be presumed, can require no apology, as the arts and literature of the Greeks, in their meridian glory, are the subjects of it; we unite the broken thread of history by remarking, that the memorable war of Peloponnesus derived its origin from the ambition of the Athenians, who were desirous of humbling the pride of Sparta, and making their own city the centre of Grecian dominion. (B. C. 431.) As the Athenians possessed only a territory of 86 square leagues, while that of the Spartans consisted of 250, they were compelled to make the most vigorous exertions to counterbalance, by every means, the superior resources of their rivals. To the disgrace of a people so refined and civilized, this war was carried on with all the ferocity of barbarians, and presented a wide scene of calamity and distress, of cabal and civil discord, of misconduct and cruelty. Athens was desolated by a pestilential fever, far more destructive than the sword of the enemy; yet it tended not to fix the volatile temper of her citizens upon any measures of peace.* The capricious Alcibiades held forth the possession of Sicily as a desirable object of conquest. To achieve this enterprise the most splendid and powerful fleet that ever left the harbour of Athens sailed for the bay of Syracuse under his command. (Thucydides, lib. vi, chap. 19, 20, 22.) Becoming a prey to the intrigues of faction, he abandoned the expedition, and by flight shunned the fate to which he was sentenced. By his advice the Spartans reinforced the Syracusians, and the storm of their united vengeance fell upon the Athenians: not a single ship returned

* De Pauw, vol. i, p. 115, Thucydides, lib. ii, chap. 47, 48, &c. Edit. Bipont. tom. ii, p. 71.

home, and a few only of the great numbers, who composed their army and navy, escaped death or captivity. For a striking detail of these events we are indebted to Thucydides, who, holding the rank of a commander in the early part of the war, was himself an eye-witness of many of the transactions which he has related. To his nervous description of facts he has added what may be esteemed no imperfect specimens of the abilities displayed by the greatest orators of his time, and particularly by Pericles, when he pronounced a funeral oration upon the soldiers who had fallen in the service of their country. Thucydides, lib. i, c. 22, lib. ii, c. 35.

The irresistible force of thunder, and the vivid flashes of lightning, were the figurative allusions used to convey ideas of the eloquence of Pericles. His talents raised him to the sole administration of public affairs, and he guided at his sovereign disposal a capricious populace for fifteen years. (B. C. 430.) To the people he looked for distinctions and honours, and to them he sacrificed the principles of the ancient constitution. The engine of his popularity was corruption. With the public money, originally destined for the defence of Attica in case of invasion, he rewarded his countrymen for attending the public assemblies, and enabled every one of them, by the sanction of an express law, to receive a gratuity for resorting to their favourite diversions of the theatre. His fame would rest upon a very weak foundation, if it was only supported by the success of his administration, in bending the inclinations of his citizens to his own political plans, and sacrificing their independence to his ambition.

But fortunately for his reputation he has the testimony of the most unbiassed men in his favour; for from the high encomium of Socrates, the anecdotes of Plutarch, and the candid and honourable testimony of Thucydides, who was banished at his instigation, we may justly conclude that he was the patron of the arts; that as a public speaker he was most eloquent; that as a statesman his abilities were consummate; and that in the midst of the cruelty and venality of his countrymen he disdained the acquisition of wealth, and abhorred the practice of revenge.

Twenty-seven years put a period to the war of Peloponnesus, and extinguished the glory of the Athenians. The burning of their fleet, and the demolition of those walls of the city, the expense of which had been defrayed by the spoils and treasures of the Persians, attested the triumph of Lysander, the ambitious, but uncorrupt general of the Spartans. Thrasybulus, with a small band of friends, effected the expulsion of

the thirty tyrants, and received an olive crown as the sole reward of this heroic action. Cimon vindicated the honour of his disgraced country, and, after a signal defeat of the Lacedemonian navy, re-established its ancient government. While Athens was again rising to glory and distinction, the Thebans, under the conduct of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, whose social virtues and military talents did equal honour to their illustrious characters, checked the power of Sparta; and the battle of Leuctra rewarded their valour with complete success. But the sun of Theban greatness set at the battle of Mantinea, where Epaminondas expired in the arms of victory.* Nor did Athens long enjoy the revival of her power; for Philip of Macedon, equally distinguished by the profligacy of his conduct, and the greatness of his ambition, obtained the sovereignty of Greece, no less by intrigues and corruption, than by his prowess in the field. The victory of Chæronea extinguished the independence of the Grecian states, and the succeeding events laid the foundation of a new empire. B. C. 338.

The most remarkable changes by slow degrees took place in the manners of the Athenians, and prepared the way for the introduction of the Macedonian, and afterwards of the Roman power. When, as Xenophon remarked, it was customary to adorn the feasts of Attica with the costly viands of Sicily and Asia Minor, the luxury of repasts became fatal to the manners of the people. Private extravagance kept pace with public profusion; instead of the bread, herbs, and simple fare, recommended by the laws of Solon, the Athenians availed themselves of their extensive commerce to import the dainties of distant coasts, which were served up with all the refinements of culinary art. In summer, the delicious wines of Cyprus were cooled with snow; and in winter, garlands of flowers, procured at great expense, adorned the tables, and encircled the heads of this luxuriant people. The martial songs of their ancestors became unfashionable; and parasites, dancers, and buffoons, crowded their sumptuous feasts. An excessive fondness for horses, and the pursuits of the chase exhausted the finances of the youths, who were vitiated by their intercourse with harlots, or corrupted by the licentious philosophy of sophists. Disdaining to cultivate the virtues of their

* A fine sketch of the character of Epaminondas is given in the Travels of Anacharsis, v. ii, p. 80. And one not less appropriate occurs in Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, b. iii, p. 127. Cicero preferred him to all the Grecian heroes—"Epaminondas princeps meo judicio Græciæ."

progenitors, and blind to the encroachments of politic and enterprising enemies, they gave a loose to luxury, and licentiousness. The public revenues, which had been formerly expended in the equipment of fleets and armies, were lavished upon theatrical exhibitions, games, and festivals. Frivolous curiosity and tame irresolution became the characteristics of a people, whom no sense of danger or shame could rouse to martial exertions, even when their enemies were stripping them of their most valuable territories, and advancing with rapid steps to Athens itself.

The death of Philip (B. C. 335) induced the Athenians to throw off the Macedonian yoke. The alacrity of his renowned successor was soon displayed in subduing, and his clemency in pardoning, their defection. The exploits of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who undertook his expedition against Darius with a view to avenge the wrongs of Greece, form an interesting portion of this period of history. Although the Greeks were deprived during his reign of their independence, yet they were left at full liberty to follow the dictates of their own inclinations, with respect to the cultivation of the arts, and even in martial affairs they shared the triumphs of the conqueror of the East.

This great and accomplished Hero was himself distinguished by a love of the arts and of literature: he patronized Lysippus the most eminent statuary, and Appelles the greatest painter of his age; and he preserved as his most invaluable treasure, a copy of his favourite Homer, in a rich casket found among the spoils of Darius. To the most extraordinary talents he united an ardent and uncontroulable temper, headstrong passions, and an unquenchable thirst for dominion. Although his conduct was tarnished with some atrocious sallies of rage and cruelty, yet enlightened by the precepts of Aristotle, to whose care his father Philip entrusted the important charge of his education, after paying that eminent philosopher the most distinguishing compliment a tutor ever received, he improved his extensive conquests to the general benefit of mankind. He built many cities in the most convenient situations, and introduced the civilization of Greece into barbarous countries. His life exhibited many splendid examples of clemency, humanity, and generosity, even amid the fervour of youth, and the impetuosity of victory. His race of glory was indeed short; but he outstripped all his competitors in his enterprises, as well as in his success. Even after making full allowances for the fictions and exaggerations of his flattering historians, the most au-

thentic accounts of his life are sufficient to prove, if we recollect the brilliancy of his wit, his personal strength and courage, his talents for war, the vast elevation of his mind, and the extent of his rapid conquests, that he was one of the most extraordinary personages, whose history stands recorded in the annals of the world.*

Some time after his death the Athenians solicited the protection of the Romans to shelter them from the oppression of Philip, the second of that name, King of Macedon. (B. C. 190.) Governed in appearance by their own laws and magistrates, they were obliged to show the most obsequious attention to their protectors, in order to avoid being considered as the ungrateful abettors of rebellion and tumult. The decisions for war or peace, the exactions of taxes, and all political regulations, were no longer left to their determination, but depended upon the decrees of the Roman senate. The spirit of the people however was bent to obedience; and that submission to foreign command, which in the days of Miltiades, or a Cimon, would have been regarded as worse than death, was considered by the contemporaries of Polybius as an easy, and even a gratifying homage. Greece could however still claim the glorious superiority of being the mistress of the arts, and of teaching them to the unpolished conquerors of the world. The Romans were gradually refined by the people they had subdued; and the captive Greeks introduced taste, elegance, and literature among the rough warriors of Latium.

In the time of the civil wars of Rome, the Athenians, actuated by their ancient love of liberty, espoused the cause of Pompey, and afterwards of Brutus and Cassius; and they erected statues of these illustrious patriots near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had slain the tyrant Hipparchus. Unfortunate upon both occasions in the part they took, they experienced the clemency both of Julius and of Augustus Cæsar. Athens was long celebrated as the abode of philosophy, and the seat of learning. Here Horace completed his education, and to this place the great Roman Orator sent his son to be instructed by Cratippus; and here likewise Pomponius, his accomplished and virtuous friend, from his residence in the country, and his proficiency in its literature, obtained the honourable appellation of *Atticus*.

That this place continued to be the seat of philosophy at a subsequent period, we learn from the eloquent address of St. Paul, so well adapted to the favourite pursuits and opi-

* For a fine character of Alexander the Great, which confirms the propriety of my statement, see Montesquieu, lib. x, c. 14.

nions of its inhabitants. (Acts, xviii. Demosthenis Philip. I.) And that their superstitious disposition still remained, was evident from their dedication of an altar to the "Unknown God." They were influenced by the same eager pursuit of novelty, which had marked their character in the time of Demosthenes; and their taste for the works of the poets was still flourishing and correct. Under the mild empire of Trajan, (A. C. 114.) they retained their fondness for the precious monuments of sculpture, as Pliny mentions, that in his time Athens was adorned with no less than three thousand statues. They found in Adrian a generous benefactor; he bestowed upon them new privileges; and the city under his auspicious influence reflected a faint ray of her former glory. It long continued to be the favourite abode of philosophers; and when Synesius of Alexandria, an elegant writer of the fifth century, visited it, he remarked, that the celebrated colonade or porch from which the Stoic philosophers had taken their name, had been stripped of its elegant pictures, and was deserted by the followers of Zeno.

Alaric, the savage plunderer of Italy, extended his conquests to Greece, and marked his steps by ruin and devastation. (A. C. 410.) He passed the straights of Thermopylæ, from which the Greeks, unmindful, or perhaps ignorant of the disaster of Xerxes, and the glory of Leonidas, retired as he advanced. As soon as the voice of his herald was heard at Athens, the descendants of those heroes who had conquered at Marathon and Salamis opened their gates. What other proof need be mentioned of the degeneracy of the times? In the fourteenth century Greece yielded to the victorious arms of Mahomet the second, and continues in the possession of the Turks to this day.

I. The present State of Greece.

The ravages of successive conquerors have assisted the slow but certain hand of time in hastening the destruction of ancient Athens. Ever since the Turks have had the country in their possession, they have exerted a wanton industry, and shown the natural hostility of ignorance to taste, by mutilating statues, demolishing temples, and defacing the elegant forms of sculpture. The curious traveller, however, has still sufficient scope for the indulgence of his pleasing melancholy, and for giving way to those mixed sensations of sorrow and delight, for which no language can supply an adequate name. Such are his feelings when his imagination presents to him

the Genius of ancient Greece, bound in the iron fetters of despotism, reclining his head amidst broken walls and prostrate columns, while liberty, the muses, and the arts, are speeding their flight from these unhappy regions. On an actual survey of the ruins of Athens, the traveller may be surprised that the sight of such objects did not open the eyes of the barbarian conquerors to admire the enchanting beauties of architecture. Every colonnade, portico, and pillar he beholds, nay, every step he takes cannot fail to carry back his fancy, without any violent effort to distant periods, and lead him to combine remote events with present appearances. On the abrupt and craggy rock of the Acropolis was erected the magnificent temple of Minerva, famed for the golden statue, which was one of the choicest productions of Phidias. It is now imperfectly represented only by huge masses of marble. From this spot may be distinctly seen, when the sun gilds the horizon with his evening rays, the white column erected to Theseus after the battle of Salamis. The Piræus, the renowned port of Athens, to which the triumphant fleet of Themistocles returned laden with the spoils of the Persians, is now distinguished only by the traces of a small theatre, and a monastery of mean architecture. The ruins of temples and theatres, intermixed with flat-roofed cottages, and marble tablets inscribed with characters, which neither the ignorant Turks nor the modern Greeks can decipher, are melancholy memorials of a more noble and a more refined people. The marble fragments found among the ruins of the schools attest the diligence of the ancient philosophers, who inscribed upon them the names of their scholars. The odeum of Pericles, which once resounded with the notes of the lyre, and the sublime strains of the choral song, can at present be traced only by its lofty and broken wall, and is deformed by the rude outwork of a Turkish castle. (Chandler's Travels, p. 78, 85, &c.) The shores of Attica are waste and desolate; few villages are to be seen from Eleusis to the promontory of Sunium, and thence even to the plains of Marathon. The eye of the inquisitive traveller discerns nothing but scattered ruins along a coast of eighty miles in extent. Nature herself seems, in some respects, to sympathize with the gloomy desolation of the place; for the once full and flowing Ilissus, on whose margin Socrates reclined to converse with his disciple Phedrus, is now almost dried up, and its banks, once shaded with lofty and waving planes, are bare and unfruitful.

Every man of classical taste feels a melancholy plea ure

in forming this contrast, which he is enabled to make in consequence of the diligent researches of Wheeler, Spon, and Chandler. But he may receive a more lively satisfaction from the researches of Stuart, who from fragments of buildings and broken pillars has traced such plans and elevations of the original buildings, and explained them so clearly in his three splendid and costly volumes, as to give a very expressive representation of the city in its ancient state of elegance and grandeur.

However the inhabitants of Athens are depressed by their haughty tyrants, they still retain marks of their original character. They possess much of that quickness of apprehension, vivacity of temper, and urbanity of manners, which distinguished their ancestors.* The native character of the people long continues like the peculiarity of the soil, which is the same as it was of old; Attica is still famed for olives, grapes, and figs; and the neighbouring slopes of Hymettus still abound with bees, which produce most delicious honey. But a long state of servitude and superstition has degraded the native powers of their minds; and the recollection or the fear of blows and indignities too often inflicted by their tyrants, makes them stoop to the artifices of cunning and dissimulation. The Albanians, a hardy and courageous race, who keep flocks upon the purple declivities of Hymettus and Citheron, or gather olives on the green banks of the Cephisus, are descended from the Spartans. Their patience of fatigue, and their desperate bravery, which has been sometimes roused by extreme oppression, prove the justness of their pretensions to such an origin. When we observe that the sparks of original genius and courage are still extant among this people, it must excite a wish, that captives so undeserving and unfortunate could be assisted to break their chains. Far from being admitted to any privileges whatever, which can bring them upon an equality with their masters, they are kept in the most abject servitude, and continue in the same miserable state as when they were first conquered. They retain the same rights they ever had to shake off the Turkish yoke, and to assert their claims to independence. The frequent wars between the Russians and the Turks might afford them the glorious opportunity of emancipation; and no enterprize could be more worthy of the emperor who now fills

* Eaton's Survey, p. 334, &c. Chandler, p. 117, 120. Stuart's Athens. "Ils ont une politesse d'esprit naturelle, et beaucoup d'addresse dans toutes les affaires qu'ils entreprenent." Spon, vol. ii, p. 76, 92. Wheeler, p. 356.

the throne of Russia, than to assist their courageous efforts in a manner more vigorous and effectual, than was done in the late war between Catherine the Great and the Turks. The fate of the brave inhabitants of Poland extinguishes the hope of restoration to complete independence from that quarter: but the government of Petersburgh would doubtless be more tolerable than that of the Porte, if we consider the different spirit of its religious creed, and its more advanced state of civilization. If the modern Greeks could be placed in so advantageous a situation, the prediction of Peter the Great might be verified; and the arts, which have civilized northern Europe, might return, after having taken an extensive circuit, to enlighten and adorn the country of their birth.

"I cannot better compare the transmigration of science than to the circulation of blood in the human body; and I foresee that they will one time or other forsake England, France, and Germany, and settle among us for many ages, to return again into Greece, their first abode."*

When we recal the days of Grecian glory, during which the arts of peace and war rose to the greatest height, when patriots, statesmen, philosophers, poets, and artists, were so eminently distinguished for virtue, wisdom and elegance, we cannot help indulging a wish, that the inhabitants of the same delightful and interesting regions could be allowed to give full scope to their original genius, and that the descendants of an Aristides, an Agesilaus, a Socrates, and a Leonidas, could not only be permitted to enjoy the inheritance of their illustrious ancestors, without extortion and without slavery, but be encouraged to emulate their fame.

For the assistance of the memory in chronological arrangements, we may distinguish the remarkable periods of Grecian history by *four* memorable epochs. The first is the age of *Solon*, or the establishment of the laws, B. C. 594; the second is the age of *Aristides*, or of martial glory, B. C. 480; the third of *Pericles*, or of luxury and the arts, B. C. 430; and the fourth that of *Mahomet* II, or complete degradation, A. C. 1453.

Enough may be collected from the foregoing detail to ascertain "that the commonwealths of Greece, while they maintained their liberty, were the most heroic confederacy that ever existed. They were the politest, the bravest, and the wisest of men. In the short space of a little more than

* From the Speech of the Czar Peter, Memoirs of Literature, vol. I. p. 361.

a century, they became such statesmen, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets, critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and last of all philosophers, that one can hardly help considering that *golden period* as a providential event in honour of human nature, to show to what perfection the species might ascend." Harris's Hermes.

On looking back to those times, when the Greeks carried their various inventions and improvements to such perfection, we cannot fail to acknowledge the obligations, which ancient Rome and modern Europe have been under to them. Greece has been the instructress of the civilized world. To her indeed all polished nations are deeply indebted for holding out the light of genius, philosophy, and taste, to guide their steps in the cultivation of the moral and intellectual powers of the mind.

Emulation was the great incentive to exertion in every branch of art, and every scene of action. All attempts were carried to the utmost pitch of attainable perfection. The trophies of Miltiades did not suffer Themistocles to sleep; and the applause bestowed upon Herodotus at the Olympic games stimulated Thucydides to compóse his immortal work. The efforts of genius are not confined to servile imitation, for genius may strike into innumerable paths. The Greeks have shown us that excellence even of the highest order is attainable; and it remains for us, if we possess any capacity, if we are animated by ambition, and impelled by a spirit of enterprise like theirs, to make repeated and unremitting exertions, until our endeavours terminate as theirs have done, in new and useful discoveries and improvements in the various branches of art, science, and literature.

The history we have been considering cannot fail to suggest to the English reader various points of resemblance to the state and circumstances of his own country. The struggles for power, and the intrigues of parties and popular leaders, the ardent love of Liberty, and high pretensions to domination, occasionally sinking into subserviency, and then again rising from tame acquiescence to new claims, new jealousies, the most active exertions of power, and the most strenuous vindication of rights; the tendencies of the state to great accession of empire, and the obstacles to a continuance of distant and widely spread dominion; the gradual increase of power and opulence from sources of commerce; the consequent spirit of dissipation, and prevalence of luxury, tending to dissolve the very strength and prosperity they gave birth to; these circumstances, connected with the poli-

tical career of a free government, and the civil concerns of a commercial and maritime country, are no where more fully displayed than in the history of the republic of Athens.

The closer and more exact resemblance between *Attica* and *Great Britain* is discernible in our diligent cultivation of the arts and sciences, in the eloquence of our public speakers, the bravery of our sailors, and the skill and valour of our admirals and generals. While we are eager to establish this resemblance, so flattering to our national pride; and whilst our Island reflects the image of the literature, architecture, sculpture, and taste, which so eminently distinguished the Greeks; and we surpass them in navigation, commerce, science, and philosophy; let us be extremely careful that our characters and manners have no mixture of the factious spirit, levity, corruption, and degeneracy, which marked the decline of their glory; but that we emulate the virtue, valour, patriotism, and refinement of their GREATEST MEN, and PUREST TIMES.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF ROME.

WITH respect to the eminent character and the political importance of the Romans, their history is more splendid than that of any other country. Like the sculptured column of Tragan, it is a monument of triumphs. It is more uniform than that of Greece, displays greater vicissitudes of affairs, and records the lives of an equal, if not a greater number of illustrious warriors and statesmen. The Romans established their empire not so much by the smiles of fortune, as by the persevering efforts of wisdom and valour. They were extraordinary both in the nobleness and in the debasement of their character; for in their progress to dominion, they exercised virtues which far exceeded, and in the decline of their empire, they were disgraced with vices which fell much below the common standard of human nature.

The prospect of Rome, at the period of its greatest power, cannot fail to impress our minds with astonishment. At the time when the virtuous and warlike TRAJAN filled the imperial throne, the Romans had reached the summit of dominion and magnificence. The metropolis of the empire and its suburbs extending beyond the seven celebrated hills, were

bounded by a circumference of fifty miles. More populous than Babylon, Nineveh, or Thebes, or any capital of modern Europe, the number of its inhabitants amounted to twelve hundred thousand.* It abounded with mansions remarkable for height and spaciousness; it was interspersed with gardens and groves, and was decorated with every edifice, which could contribute either to the use or ornament of individuals, or of the public. Fountains, baths, aqueducts, bridges, markets, obelisks, squares, courts of justice, porticos, palaces, amphitheatres, and temples, filled the august prospect. The temple of Ops was enriched with the gold of subdued monarchs; the rostra were decked with the naval spoils of a long succession of ages; and upon the lofty arches were described in the most exquisite sculpture, the various victories and splendid triumphs of the conquerors of the world. Among the public buildings were more particularly observed by the astonished spectator, the elegant forum of Trajan, the ample theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, the temple of Neptune, the wide circumference of the Circus Maximus, the Capitol rearing its majestic structures above the Tarpeian Rock; the imperial Palace, from the magnificent portico, of which the Emperor could overlook the whole city; the temple of Apollo, distinguished by the colossal statue of that deity, erected upon the Palatine Hill in the centre of the city; and the dome of the sublime Pantheon, eminent for its incomparable symmetry, and regular proportions. All these buildings presented the solid style of the Tuscan, or the more elegant orders of Grecian architecture, and were adorned with the most beautiful productions of painting and sculpture. Above these stately edifices arose a lofty pillar of white marble, exhibiting, in the most lively images of sculpture, the Dacian victories of Trajan, whose colossal figure crowned the summit. The extent, the variety, and the grandeur of these buildings proved, that this city was the residence of the masters of the world; as the ingenuity, the productions, the arts, and the riches of all countries conspired to aggrandize and embellish it.

Twenty thousand select troops, either distinguished as

* Upon the subject of the extent and the population of Rome there is an excellent note in Brotier's Tacitus, vol. ii, p. 473, 4to. edit. He states at large the data, upon which his calculation of the inhabitants proceeds. There is a curious dissertation upon this subject in the Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxx, p. 191, by D'Anville. The only capital in the known world more populous than ancient Rome is Pekin in China, which Du Halde reckons at three millions.

regular patroles, or prætorian cohorts, watched both night and day over the security of this populous and spacious city. To this seat of supreme power ambassadors were sent from the most remote regions, to lay the diadems of Kings at the feet of the Emperor. From hence marched the proconsuls, lieutenants, and prætors, surrounded by numerous trains of attendants, and escorted by cohorts of foot and squadrons of horse, to take the command of their respective provinces. They travelled over straight and spacious roads, which intersected the empire in every direction, and which were so solid and durable as to remain in many places unimpaired by the ravages of time, after the lapse of more than seventeen centuries.* The ready communication between one province and another was equally secured by sea and by land; and the fleets, which anchored in the port of Ostia, were prepared to carry the imperial arms to the most distant coasts. Upon the banks of great rivers, such as the Rhine, the Danube, and the Po, in the vicinity of populous cities, or on the frontiers of hostile nations, were stationed the camps of the legions. At the first alarm of insurrection they were ready to take the field; no plot of the enemy could escape their vigilance, and no force was sufficient to repel their formidable onset. Many of the temperate and fertile countries, which now compose the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, were enrolled in the register of tributary states. The imperial eagle stretched her wings over the fairest portions of the ancient world. The empire was extended more than two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus in Britain, and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas in the west of Africa, and reached in length more than three thousand miles, from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates. It was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land. It included Spain and Portugal, Gaul and Britain, Italy, Germany, Hungary, Transylvania, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, the provinces of Asia Minor, Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, Egypt, Mauritania, and Dacia. Most of these countries abounded with large and opulent cities, every one of which attested the progress and influence of the arts, as well as the dominion of the Romans, by the grandeur and variety of its public works. The population of the empire was equal to its extent, as it was reputed to contain not less than one hundred and

* Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii, p. 250. Gibbon vol. i, p. 51. Lumisden, p. 86. Horsley's Britannia Romana, p. 520.

twenty millions of subjects, a number far greater than was ever, either before or after that period, united under one European government.

If we consider the Modern World with reference to the Roman Empire, even the dominions of the great Mogul, or the more extensive territories of the Grand Signior, far as they are spread in Europe, Asia, and Africa, sink in comparison with it. Russia in point of comparative population is a desert; and China, with its myriads of inhabitants, with respect to martial energy, is a nation of effeminate slaves.

Such is the sublime prospect of the metropolis, the naval and military force, and the extensive and formidable sovereignty of ancient Rome in the meridian of her glory. A survey so remarkable for the variety and the splendour of its objects, is the most distinguished, which history has presented to the contemplation of man. It will appear the more extraordinary, if we contrast the empire so extensive and flourishing under Trajan, with its parent state, consisting of a small colony of shepherds and adventurers, originally planted by Romulus upon the banks of the Tiber, and forming one of forty-seven independent cantons, which altogether occupied a space of only fifty miles. B. C. 753. Ferguson's Roman Republic, c. i.

By comparing the most exalted state of Rome with its origin, we are naturally led to inquire into the causes of its grandeur. From considering its fall from such an elevation of power, when the imperial city was taken by the Goths, we are naturally led to investigate the causes of its decline. These inquiries will form the subjects of this and the following chapter.

The leading causes of the greatness of the Roman power may be resolved,

I. Into the peculiar constitution of the government.

II. The rigid cultivation of the arts of war.

III. The strong attachment to religion.

IV. The active spirit of patriotism.

These causes operating upon the opinions and determining the conduct of a hardy, active, and courageous people, conspired to raise them to the summit of empire.

I. If the Romans had submitted without reluctance to the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus, and the outrages committed by his family, their spirit would have been completely broken, and their city would probably have remained without distinction among the small states of Italy. The senate suffered Tarquin to assume the royal authority, without the ceremo-

nies of a legal election, or the usual approbation of the people. Repeated sufferings, however, opened their eyes to the horrors of despotism; they drove the tyrant from his throne, and adopted a consular form of government. From the moment that Brutus raised the dagger, streaming with the blood of Lucretia, and vowed the expulsion of Tarquin, the Romans were destined to be the conquerors of the world. B. C. 509. Liv. lib. i, sect. 59.

We need not, therefore, trace the government to a more remote period, than to the abolition of regal power. From that era the real character of the people began to be developed, and a new spring was given to their general exertions. They felt the necessity of governors, laws, and discipline; but of such governors, laws, and discipline, as were favourable to the growth of their darling passions, the love of freedom, independence, and dominion.

The executive and legislative branches of their *Constitution* consisted of the consuls, the senate, and the assembly of the people. The *Consuls* were at once the prime ministers of the republic, and the generals of the armies. They presided over the senate, and convened and dismissed it at pleasure. The *Senate* was a deliberative council of state, varying in numbers at different periods of time. This august and venerable body was composed of men of fortune, whose characters were exemplary, and their extraction noble. To obtain the dignity of a senator it was necessary to pass through a regular gradation of important offices. They were the guardians of religion, they appointed the proconsuls to the command of provinces, had the disposal of the public treasures, and in times of alarm and danger could appoint dictators, and invest the consuls with absolute power.

To the *Comitia*, or general assembly of the Roman citizens belonged the exclusive privilege of making laws, the election of magistrates, and the declaration of war or peace. In criminal cases they exercised the right of pardon, or acquittal. The *Tribunes* of the people were invested with very high authority; and although originally intended only to mediate between the Plebeians and Patricians, they could annul the decrees of the senate by their negative, and under the pretence of measures injurious to the state, could arrest even the consuls themselves. (Liv. lib. iv, sect. 26, &c.) As some balance to these privileges of the people, their assemblies paid great respect to the decrees of the senate, and to the sentiments of persons illustrious for their rank, and respectable for the offices they held in the state. Still, however, the branches of the

constitution stood much in need of a common principle of union; and as their privileges were so extensive, and their power was so independent, they were frequently involved in contention and discord. But the great personal liberty enjoyed by every individual added, to an enthusiastic patriotism, frequently united them; and even their contests for superiority served ultimately to establish a firm and equal balance of power.

The spirit of aristocracy, infused into the government by Servius Tullius, was preserved afterwards in the commonwealth; and this gave rise to perpetual contests between the Patricians and Plebeians. (B. C. 550. Liv. lib. i, c. 42.) The former, favoured by the senate, recommended by dignity of character, and illustrious birth, as they were descended from the senators of the first age of Rome, for some time had sufficient influence to confine to themselves the great offices of the state. When the latter, after repeated struggles, had obtained new privileges, the republic enjoyed more internal tranquillity and her battles were fought with greater ardour; but by the oppression and cruelty which frequently followed, it proved dangerous to invest an ignoble and indigent citizen with the sovereign authority, as was fatally experienced during the bloody proscriptions of Marius and Sylla. Sometimes many evils resulted from the prevalence of the popular government, and sometimes the Plebeians exercised their rights with moderation; and when they had acquired the privilege of choosing the magistrates, they frequently showed a magnanimous contempt of power. However fierce and bold, and however irritated by opposition, they were still submissive to the established laws and public authority. Their dissensions gave a keener edge to their temper, and greater activity to their conduct. They encouraged the growth of all those virtues, which were calculated to conciliate the affections of friends, strike terror into enemies, and increase the necessity of personal merit. Thus did they form their hardy youth for the different situations of war and peace; as candidates for public offices at home, or competitors for fame abroad.

The close and inseparable connexion, which subsisted between the civil and military departments, sufficiently marks the character of the Roman people. In the enrolment of the census, a plebeian was reckoned as a foot soldier, a knight as a horseman, and a legion as a detachment of the whole community. The first officers of the state were understood to command the armies of the republic by virtue of their civil magistracy. No citizen could aspire to any high offices

before he had performed military service for a certain term of years; and even in the extraordinary commissions, which were occasionally given, civil and military rank was never disjoined. The education of a soldier was the first step to all the honours of the state; and the same personal qualities, which were necessary for the general, were necessary for the pretor or the consul. However difficult it may appear to blend in due proportions the characters of the soldier and the citizen; yet it is evident, that in Rome the union was really effected, and became productive of the boldest determinations in the senate, and the most invincible spirit in the field. Ferguson, vol. i. c. 3.

In the transactions of affairs with foreign states, the policy of the Romans was as refined as their conduct in the field was heroic. That this policy was the result of regular and systematic principles, and did not proceed from accident or particular contingencies, appears from the pursuit of the same measures in the early, as well as in the advanced state of the republic. Whenever occupied by an important war, the Romans dissembled injuries received from other states, till a convenient time of retaliation. As they did not always make peace with sincerity, their treaties were sometimes no more than short suspensions from hostilities; and they took care to introduce into them such conditions as ultimately proved detrimental, and even destructive to their enemies. (Montesquieu, Grandeur des Romains, c. vi.) When they had conquered a powerful prince, they insisted upon his not making war upon his neighbours, under pretence of their alliance with themselves; and, by this prohibition, they in effect deprived him of the exercises of his military power. Whenever two nations were at war, although not authorized by any alliance to interfere, they always espoused the cause of the weaker party. They never commenced hostilities in a distant country, without procuring some ally near the enemy, whom they intended to attack. This measure contributed greatly to their success in their wars with Carthage. The title of ally, indeed, was no more than a splendid and specious name, under which they availed themselves of the strength and the resources of other nations. So firm was their adherence to their fundamental maxim, to spare the vanquished, and subdue the proud, that they were not to be moved by any reverse of fortune, however disastrous, to solicit peace. They looked with calmness upon the advances even of a victorious enemy; and, in the midst of public disasters and defeats, displayed the sedate dignity and unshaken

firmness of their genuine character. Their conduct to subdued countries showed the refinement of consummate politicians. They were cautious not to impose their laws and customs upon the nations they had subdued, as such conduct must unavoidably have produced the most formidable confederacies and iusurrections: on the contrary, actuated by a spirit of mild and liberal toleration, they left them in the undisturbed exercise of their religion and laws; and only enforced such general principles of subordination, as corrected natural ferocity of disposition, inclined them to adopt the arts and customs of their conquerors, and induced them to regard the Romans, rather as their benefactors, than their masters.*

In the vast compass of their dominions, from the Euphrates to the Alantic Ocean, and from the Danube to the deserts of Lybia, was felt the influence of their laws. Colonies were planted, municipal towns were honoured with the privileges of Roman citizens, federal states enjoying their own customs and laws were civilized, and the most useful public edifices, such as bridges, aqueducts, and temples, adorned the different provinces. The wars, which had desolated neighbouring countries with incessant fury, were terminated by their superior influence; and their tributaries, united like the branches of one family, enjoyed a degree of intercourse and peace, to which the world before that auspicious period had been a stranger. Their political conduct, although sometimes versatile and accommodated to circumstances, was frequently directed by justice, generosity, honour, and disinterestedness; and these virtues, supported by the great extent of their dominion, and the terror of their arms, diffused a blaze of glory round the Roman name, which dazzled the eyes of all nations.

In the year of Rome 556, when the Greeks were met to celebrate the Isthmian games at Corinth, a herald advanced into the middle of the amphitheatre, and having commanded silence by sound of trumpet, he proclaimed that the Roman senate and Titus Quinctius the general, in consequence of having conquered Philip, King of Macedon, restored liberty and the free exercise of their own laws, to all the provinces

* Tacitus has informed us of the methods adopted by the politic Agricola, to soften the rugged manners of the Britons, and make them patient of the Roman yoke. "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, inde etiam habitûs nostri honor, et frequens toga; paulatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos *humanitas* vocabatur, cum *pars servitutis* esset." Taciti Vita Agric. p. 426. Ed. Grævv. The last words of the sentence disclose to us the refined policy of the Romans.

of Greece. So transported were the assembled multitudes with this unexpected declaration, that they could scarcely credit the testimony of their senses; and so completely did joy possess their minds at the news of this auspicious event, that they could not fix the least attention upon the performance of the games. As soon as they were concluded, the crowds hastened to express their gratitude to the Roman general. "How happy, exclaimed they, in this transport of exultation, is it for the world, that there should exist a people who glory in expending their treasures, and enduring the hardships of war to procure the liberty of others. This people do not confine their generous exertions to the neighbouring states, but even traverse the ocean to repel injustice, and establish Religion and Law. Oppressed as we were by the yoke of a foreign tyrant, we now regain our ancient independence by the proclamation of a Roman herald. The hope of such happiness could only be the result of an aspiring mind; to realize such an expectation requires the singular favour of the Gods, and the greatest generosity of Men."* Livy, lib. 33, c. 32, &c.

The destination of the Romans to war was the first principle of their original institutions; it was cultivated by their kings, and invariably pursued throughout every age of the commonwealth. It arose indeed primarily from the nature of their situation. The subjects of Romulus were composed of a mixed banditti, who made themselves obnoxious to the neighbouring states by the frequency of their predatory excursions. As such lawless conduct subjected them not only to just retaliation, but to the severest infliction of revenge, the wars, which the Romans at first began for the sake of plunder, were soon continued upon principles of self-preservation: they became the objects of fear or of envy to all the surrounding people; and king after king, and state after state, came forth to crush their aspiring power. Alba looked with a jealous eye upon the prosperity of her colony, and attempted its overthrow. The Volsci, Sabines, Samnites, Latins, and Etrurians succeeded; and the Gauls attacked them with such numerous armies, as often in the early ages of the republic threatened their destruction.

The short duration of the consular government, although liable to some inconveniences, was to men of courage and talents a strong incentive to martial exploits.* Various causes

* Livy states particularly the inconveniencies with regard to military operations, which arose from the short period of the consular power. I have endeavoured to reconcile that historian with Montesquieu, with

usually operate to set bounds to the ambition of monarchs. In the course of a long reign, many passions, and even indolence itself, successively rule their minds. But as the office of the chief magistrates of the republic was confined to a single year, they were impatient to signalize their short command by great and glorious achievements. The moment propitious to emulation and a love of glory was not to be lost. They were powerfully stimulated to put a quick period to any war, in which they were engaged, by some rapid and decisive measures; lest the harvest of victory and fame should be reaped by their successors. For the indulgence of this spirit of enterprize, the most extensive scope was afforded, by a long series of campaigns, battles, and sieges; as the temple of Janus was shut only three times during the long period of 700 years, and only once whilst Rome was subject to a consular government, at the close of the first Punic war.*

II. This martial spirit, of which such plain vestiges may be traced in the early manners of the people, was matured by the strictest attention to discipline, by every encouragement to bear the labours of war, and by the invention and perfection of every expedient which could improve the arts of attack and defence.†

Their discipline was the result of innumerable dangers, and of painful and long experience. Their attachment to it was equally politic and firm; for they were too acute not to discern that it was the most effectual support of their power. The military oath was administered under peculiar circumstances of solemnity. The legionary soldier swore with alacrity never to desert the golden eagle, which was displayed in the front of his cohort or squadron. To this he looked up as to a tutelary god, under whose wings he fought with confidence, and by whose guidance he was assured he should be led to victory.‡

In the spacious field of Mars, which was pleasantly situated

whom he is at issue upon this subject. Compare Montesquieu, Grandeur, c. i, with Livy, lib. xli, c. 15. lib. xxiv, c. 8. lib. ix, c. 18.

* A. U. C. 517, in the consulship of Atilius Bulbus and Manlius Torquatus.

† Polybius, book vi. Gibbon, vol. i, c. 1, and his notes and authorities. Of the Roman discipline, castrametation, arms, marches, and martial laws, there is a very curious and distinct account in Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii, c. 5.

‡ Tacitus expressly calls the standards, "Propria legionum numina," and "bellorum deos." Tertullian well remarks, "Religio Romanorum tota castrensis, signa veneratur, signa jurat, et omnibus diis præponit." Murphy's Tacitus.

upon the banks of the Tyber, the ardent youth were exercised in feats of manly activity: here the charioteers contended in the rapid race, and the youthful recruits were trained to hurl the spear, and manage the horse. The veterans here performed their various evolutions in toilsome review. Nothing was wanting to give this busy scene the complete appearance of a field of battle, but the effusion of blood. The soldiers were animated not only by the presence, but the example, of their leaders. Even in the decline of life Marius continued his accustomed exercises in this place, and here Pompey displayed his unrivalled skill in horsemanship.

When the army, previously trained to every martial exercise, had taken the field, the Roman general found that the surest expedient to efface the dishonour of a defeat, was to increase the labours of the campaign, rather than to diminish the vigour of his troops, by any relaxation of duty. Sylla compelled his soldiers, after they had fled before Mithridates, to labour with such incessant assiduity, that they called for another battle, as a respite from their fatigues. Their toil not only inured them to hardships, but preserved their constitutions vigorous and healthy, as they avoided those sudden changes from extreme exertion to extreme ease, which are so injurious to modern armies.

Their native courage had every assistance, which it could in any degree derive from constant practice, and habitual skill. Their arms were heavier than those of other nations, and their dexterity in using them was the result of confirmed habit. By the management of all kinds of weapons, and by the practice of every movement, which could give additional strength and activity to the body, they were gradually trained to real action.

During the short intervals of peace, they were engaged in the hardy occupation of agriculture, the only pacific employment which was thought worthy of a Roman citizen. To turn the stubborn soil, to be exposed to all the changes of weather, to subsist upon a frugal diet, and undergo every rural labour, were the best preparatives for war. In the early ages of the commonwealth, this employment was ennobled by the practice of consuls and dictators, who tilled their paternal fields with their own hands; and Cincinnatus, Fabius, and Fabricius, were called from the plough to fill the greatest offices of taste, and lead their countrymen to battle.

The Romans looked with attention upon the warlike appointments and arms of other nations, and showed their profound judgment in quickly adopting expedients to supply

their own defects. They copied the form of the Sabine shield, and armed their troops with the Spanish sword. Horses for their cavalry were procured from Numidia; and the wreck of a Carthagenian vessel fortunately thrown upon their coast, was the model of their first ship of war. At the beginning of the contest with Carthage, they had not a single vessel of this description; but at its close they were masters of the sea. They stationed the captured elephants, which had been employed against them in the Punic wars, in the front of their army against Philip of Macedon. The genius of such a people, so versatile and alive to improvement, seemed to form them for extensive empire; and hence it is the less extraordinary, that the ready adoption of foreign arms and inventions proved destructive to the nations which originally used them.*

But the peculiar glory of Roman tactics arose from the formation and discipline of the legion. Agreeable to the genius of the people, it was better calculated for attack than defence. With respect to activity it had great advantages over the Grecian and Macedonian phalanx, which was only so constructed, as to force its way by the depth and solidity of its compact and closely-wedged ranks. The open order which the legionary troops preserved, gave to every soldier the free exercise of his arms, and afforded space for reinforcements to advance to the relief of those, whose strength was exhausted. The spaces likewise gave room for the first to fall back into the second, and with them to make a new attack; and if these two ranks when united were overpowered, they retired to the rear rank, with whose assistance they renewed the charge with three-fold impetuosity. The regular manner in which this advance or retreat was conducted, constituted the perfection of the Roman discipline. The success, which it must finally secure, was certain, when we consider the legions opposed to irregular barbarians, who, if once routed, never returned to a second attack. In many battles, the Romans were at first repulsed by the number or impetuosity of the hostile troops: but by their judicious arrangements and evolutions, the event was ultimately favourable; the enemy was checked in the midst of his successful career, and the laurel of victory was suddenly snatched from his hands†.

* Montesquieu, c. i, ii. Kennet, p. 239. Gibbon, vol. i, p. 11. Polybius, lib. vi, sect. 20, 21, 24, edit. Gronov.

† Gibbon, vol. i. c. 1. Ferguson c. 3, and the cited passages. Livy contrasts the phalanx with the legion, and points out the superior excellence of the latter, when comparing the forces of Alexander with the Romans. "Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans: sed illa pha-

The first model of a Roman camp seems to have been first suggested by the rude intrenchments, which Romulus caused to be thrown up to defend his rising city. This plan was in succeeding times greatly improved; and the camp of the Romans was remarkable for the perfect regularity of its quadrangular form: it was divided by parallel lines, composing spacious streets, for the accommodation, in separate detatchments, of cavalry, infantry and auxiliaries; was secured by the breadth and depth of its ditch, and the loftiness of its ramparts, armed with a line of strong and close palisades. When at this day we trace the remaining vestiges of their encampments, we can in some degree realize the descriptions which the ancients have given us, and fairly infer the greatness of their strength from their long duration. Many camps in this island, and upon the continent, such as that near Kyneton, upon the borders of Herefordshire, the camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire; at Caster, or Venta Icenorum, near Norwich; Cæsar's camp upon the Rhine, and that which overtops the white cliffs of Dieppe, may be supposed, from their present fresh and unbroken appearance, to have been formed only a few centuries ago.

The elegant and lively historian Livy, presents us with a very striking instance of the effect produced upon the minds of their enemies, by the martial improvements made by the Romans. Philip the second, king of Macedon, caused the bodies of some of his soldiers, who had fallen in the skirmish, to be brought into his camp, that they might be buried with military honours. His motive was to instigate his army to expose themselves with more alacrity to the dangers of war. But the method he took to rouse their courage, produced a contrary effect, inclined them to inactivity, and increased their fears. His troops, who had been accustomed to fight with the Greeks and Illyrians, and to inflict and receive only slight wounds made by darts and arrows, now beheld the bodies of their dead comrades marked by deep and ghastly cuts, and deprived of heads and limbs by the keen and vigorous strokes of the Spanish swords, the weighty weapons of the Romans. With dismay they reflected upon the enemies with whom they had to contend, and the great superiority of

fanx immobilis et unius generis: Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans: facilis partienti, quacunque opus esset, facilis jungenti." Liv. lib. viii, c. 8, et lib. ix.

"Yet was this *phalanx* never or very seldom able to stand against the Roman armies, which were embattelled in so excellent a form, as I know not whether any nation besides them have used, either before or since." Sir W. Raleigh, p. 263.

their arms, and mode of fighting. Philip himself, no less alarmed, recalled his son Perseus and his troops from the straights of Pelagonia to reinforce his desponding army. From a lofty hill he soon after reconnoitered the position of the enemy, and took a distinct view of their camp. He remarked the different quarters into which it was divided, the exact order in which the tents were pitched, and the intersections which formed the streets. Astonished at the admirable arrangement of all the parts, he candidly acknowledged, as Pyrrhus king of Epirus had done before, that no nation could equal the Romans in the skill displayed in this essential branch of the art of war. Liv. lib. 31, c. 36.

But the Romans found, that the perfection of their movements in the field, and the security of their position in camps, would not complete the military art, without imposing the strictest restraints upon the conduct of a soldier, and holding out the most lucrative and glorious recompense for his valour. Such was the inflexible rigour of martial law, that cowardice and disobedience led to inevitable death, inflicted by the swords and darts of his comrades; whilst, on the other hand, every exploit was attended by its appropriate honour. The rich trappings of horses, the golden chain, the civic, the mural, and the rostral crowns, awaited the return of the veteran from the field of battle; and pensions arising from the sale of the conquered lands, or settlements upon fertile spots of ground, were granted for the support of his declining age, and as the rewards of his long and faithful services.

The *Triumph*, which derived its origin from the earliest age of the republic, when Romulus returned home laden with spoils of his vanquished enemies, tended in a much greater degree to cherish this martial spirit. (Livy, lib. c. 9. Florus, lib. i, c. 18.) This ceremony, repugnant as it was to the feelings of compassion for the distressed, and calculated to encourage arrogance and ostentation, in point of splendour and pomp, was superior to the honour ever paid to victorious chiefs and armies in any other country. It was attended by an innumerable concourse of applauding spectators, collected from every part of the empire. Such was the glory assigned to Paulus Emilius, the great conqueror of Macedon, after he had brought Perseus, king of that country, and his family, prisoners to Rome. (B. C. 168. Liv. lib. xlv, c. 39 et 40.) The procession passed through spacious and lofty arches, ornamented with pictures and statues, to the splendid temple of the lofty capital. At first appeared bands of trumpeters, and other martial musicians, who to prepare the spectators

for military scenes, sounded the loud and animating charge of battle. The priests, clothed in long robes, and crowned with chaplets, walked by the side of the white oxen of Clitumnus devoted to sacrifice. The sculptured figures, painted banners, and various symbols of the subdued cities and provinces, were distinctly displayed. The gold and silver coin deposited in capacious vases, were carried upon the shoulders of the most robust soldiers. The burnished coats of mail, waving crests, glittering spears, and the golden goblets and rich plate which had adorned the royal banquets of Antigonus and Seleucus, best disposed for the view of the people, were conveyed in long trains of carriages. The chariot of the captive king next appeared, containing his diadem and his armour. Then walked Perseus clad in mourning, with slow and melancholy steps, attended by his children and friends. The golden crowns, sent by the numerous states in alliance with the republic, as tokens of congratulation on her recent conquest, carried in the hands of their respective ambassadors, announced the approach of the conqueror himself. Paulus Emilius appeared standing erect, in a magnificent chariot, that was drawn by four milk white horses; he was clothed in a purple robe, his head encircled with a refulgent diadem, and waving in his hand a branch of laurel. The procession was closed by the whole army bearing the Imperial eagles at the front of their cohorts and squadrons, and intermixing with the song of triumph the praises of their general.

Those who instituted the triumph as a national celebrity, perfectly understood the genius of a people disposed to catch the flame of emulation from every incident, which gave dignity to the character of a soldier. This honour was indeed rarely granted to any officer of inferior rank to a dictator, consul, or prætor: but as each of them shared it in common with every tribune, centurion, and even legionary of his army, it failed not to inspire them all with ardour for military service. The same distinction, therefore, which was the reward of one victory, frequently proved the source of another.

III. Rome at an early period called for the aid of religion, to give greater efficacy to her civil laws and military institutions. Numa lulled the infant kingdom into a short repose, in order to strengthen it by his sacred establishments. (B. C. 713. Liv. lib. i, c. 19, &c.) The attention paid to augury, which was at once the resource and the delusion of the Romans, arose to the highest degree of superstition.

Not only the departed heroes, who had been raised to the rank of divinity by the elegant fictions of Greece, as well as the gods of other nations, were naturalized; but every virtue and vice, every art and profession, the deities of every grove and stream, derived a peculiar character from their respective votaries; were represented by images, ornamented with peculiar symbols, and worshipped with appropriate rites. The excessive credulity of the populace, ever eager for the account of prodigies and fables, was at all times flattered by the magistrates, and respected by the philosophers, who however they might smile in secret at the prevailing superstition, still assumed in public the mass of external reverence for the mythology of their country. The ceremonies of polytheism were in general of the most cheerful tendency; processions to the temples, except in cases of public calamity, were social meetings of festivity; and sacrifices to the gods were little more than the feasts of their worshippers.

A scrupulous attention to religion was the peculiar boast and pride of the Romans: and Cicero hesitates not to assert, that to their piety, and their firm belief in the over-ruling providence of the gods, they were indebted for their ascendancy over all other nations. (Cicero de Harusp. Responsis.) The establishment of pontiffs, flamens, augurs, and vestals, was supported by consecrated lands; and as the civil and military departments were not deemed incompatible with the religious, even emperors, consuls, and generals aspired to, and exercised the offices of the priesthood. The union of religion indeed with the civil government is a striking feature in the Roman policy. Augustus was sensible of its great importance; and he, as well as succeeding emperors, sought to raise himself above the attacks of his enemies, and exalt the respectability of his character to the greatest elevation, by assuming the venerable title and inviolable dignity of the Pontifex Maximus.

IV. The spirit of patriotism was never so generally diffused, nor so long preserved, as in ancient Rome. So ardent were the sentiments which it inspired, and so daring the actions which it excited that it was rather a passion than a habit of the mind. It was the source of numberless virtues; it fostered patience, and alleviated toil; it extinguished the fire of ambition, and even silenced the voice of nature; and taught the Romans to despise all private interest, and to submit to the severest pain for the benefit of the state. Hence Junius Brutus condemned his traitorous sons to an ignominious death. Regulus, unmoved by the supplications of his

weeping relations and friends, and undismayed by the prospect of certain torture, returned to Carthage; and the inflexible Manlius Torquatus, checking the strongest feelings of the heart, devoted his victorious son to the sword of the executioner.

The republic was frequently agitated by the most violent convulsions of party. The debates of the senate were interrupted by the clamorous demands of the tribunes, solicitous to secure the rights of the people. The forum was often a scene of war, and the peaceful gown was stained with blood. Both Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, the intemperate advocates for the revival of the Agrarian law, misled by injudicious zeal for the privileges of the plebeians, fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of aristocratic power; and in a subsequent period, the wants of the profligate, and the ambition of the noble, produced a deep and formidable conspiracy, which was detected by the vigilance of Cicero, and hurried Catiline to open rebellion and death.

Still we find that internal discord was often silenced when intelligence was brought to the city of hostile designs and movements. Such an alarm was sufficient to abate the animosity of contending factions, and to unite every order in the firmest union for the public service. The arrival of Hannibal in Italy produced an immediate cessation of all civil dissentions. The storm which had raged at home suddenly increased its violence, but changed its direction, and fell with redoubled fury upon the common enemy.

From the love of their country immediately resulted, in the purest times of the commonwealth, the sacrifice of every private interest to the public welfare. The Romans foresaw that opulence, by the introduction of luxury, would disqualify them for the toils of war, and destroy that just equality, which limits ambition to the sole desire of acting for the general good. They therefore esteemed poverty a virtue; and this, which in the first inhabitants of Rome was the effect of necessity, became among their descendants, for some ages, an object of choice. They considered it as the sure guardian of liberty, and opposed it to the encroachments of corruption. A Roman, during the purest times of the commonwealth, thought that frugality formed a part of his glory; and at the same time that he exposed his life to every danger, in order to fill the public treasury, he performed military service without stipend or gratuity. Every one thought himself sufficiently opulent in the riches of the state, and would have esteemed it unworthy of his character to require any emolument from th

offices with which his country had invested him, and which he held only to contribute to her aggrandizement. The generals, animated by the same noble contempt of wealth as the common soldiers, depended only for their subsistence on their small inheritance of land, which they tilled with their own hands. Regulus requested permission of the Senate to return from the command of the army to the cultivation of his little farm. (B. C. 256.) Paulus Emilius, who filled his native city with the rich spoils of the kings of Macedon, died without sufficient money to defray the expenses of his funeral.

This virtuous and patriotic disposition may be illustrated by the sumptuary laws, which were enacted at different periods, and which, without any exception in favour of high birth, fortune, or rank, regulated the expenses of every citizen. No articles of luxury escaped the attention of these rigid and sagacious legislators, who saw the necessity of establishing public opulence upon private economy. By the Oppian law the Roman ladies were prohibited from wearing robes of various colours, from having ornaments which exceeded the value of half an ounce of gold, and from being drawn in a chariot by two horses, unless to attend some public solemnity. Orchius limited the number of guests to be invited to entertainments; Fannius regulated the expense of public festivals; and Cornelius confined that of funerals to a very moderate sum. And as a proof that in these pure times any relaxation of such laws was highly disapproved, even by those who were most the objects of their severity, Duronius was expelled the Senate, because, when he served the office of tribune, he had abrogated the law which limited the expense of feasts.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THE causes stated in the preceding chapter had the greatest influence upon the sentiments and the conduct of the Romans, both at home and abroad, established their mi-

* For the history of the rise and progress of the Roman laws, see Duck de Auctoritate Juris Civilis, Eden's Elements of the Civil Law. For the origin of the laws of the Twelve Tables, and their division into various parts, see Livy, lib. iii, c. 32, 34. Dionysius Halicarnass. b. x. Hook's Roman History, vol. i, b. ii, c. 27. Livy, lib. vi, c. 41. Gravina, lib. ii, c. 28. Polybius, b. 6.

litary character, and raised them by slow degrees to the summit of dominion.

Vain were the efforts of the people of Italy to resist them; and the successive attacks of the sovereigns of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, were equally fruitless. The disgraceful capitulation of the legions in the straights of Caudium, the near approach of Coriolanus to Rome at the head of the Volsci, were productive of no permanent advantage to the conquerors. The armies of the republic were often compelled to flee, or to surrender, and were sometimes reduced to the most humiliating distress. But the severest repulses tended only to give a new spring to their exertions. The impetuous fury of the Gauls, and the alacrity of Pyrrhus, made indeed a temporary impression; but they could not finally prevail. At one time Varro, at another Cneius Scipio was cut off, their forces were routed, and the bravest of their troops were slain; but the courage of the senate and the people was still firm and undaunted; the spirit of their institutions cherished it, and their exertions were too much the result of calm intrepidity and confirmed habit, to be disconcerted by the fall of a general, the overthrow of an army, or the suspension of a triumph. Victory was sometimes capricious in the distribution of her favours; she flew to give transient success to other nations, and swelled their minds with delusive hopes of conquest. But most propitious to discipline, valour, and perseverance, she failed not finally to encircle with her unfading laurel the brows of her darling Romans.

In the Carthaginians we behold their most formidable enemies. They were the only people, who, by their opulence, territories, spirit, and resources, seemed capable of contending with them for empire, with any prospect of success.* Their transactions and wars form one of the most interesting portions of the history we are now considering. But unfortunately for their fame, and the wishes of posterity, the

* For an accurate account of the constitution, laws, commerce, and dominions of Carthage, see Ferguson's Roman Republic, vol i, p. 88. Into one chapter of moderate length he has compressed the memorable transactions of the second Punic war, p. 106. The account of the battle of Cannæ is detailed with singular precision and perspicuity.

Polybius has drawn a concise but striking contrast between the flourishing condition of Rome, and the declining state of Carthage, at the commencement of the first Punic war, Lib. vi, sect. 49, &c. See Aristot. de Republica, lib. ii, cap. 9. Polybius supplied Livy with much information relative to the Punic wars. Livy has not only adopted, in many instances, his statement of facts, but even has literally translated his expressions. Liv. lib. xxx, c. 45, and lib. xxxiii, c. 10.

chief accounts recorded of them are received from the writings of their prejudiced rivals. The Roman historians take delight in placing all their transactions in the most unfavourable light, and asperse their national character with the odious imputation of systematic cruelty and perfidy. Nor are the Greek writers totally free from an unfavourable bias, and the influence of similar prejudices. The most impartial and full detail of their government, laws, arts, manners, and institutions, would have been peculiarly interesting to Britain, as they rose to their height of dominion and opulence by the power of their navy, and the extent of their colonies and commerce. During the second Punic war, the full energy of both nations was drawn forth into action. (B. C 220.) Hannibal combined in his character all the qualifications of a great statesman, and a consummate general; and when the magnitude and the number of the obstacles he surmounted in his invasion of Italy be considered, the extensive and difficult tract of country which he traversed, the factious parties of Carthage, which attempted to disconcert all his measures, the discordant interests of the allied forces which he reconciled, and the powerful armies and skilful generals he opposed, he may surely be ranked, where Scipio Africanus, his great rival in arms, did not hesitate to place him, among the greatest heroes of antiquity.

Even after the successive defeats of the Romans at Thrasimene, at Trebia, and the complete destruction of their choicest army at Cannæ, when they were basely deserted by many of their allies, the senate did not relax, even for a moment, the firmness of ancient institutions, and disdained to negociate with the enemy, while he continued within the territories of the republic. And at that critical conjuncture, far from being dismayed at his approach, they sold by public auction the ground upon which his army was encamped; and it was purchased at the price it would have reached during a period of the utmost tranquillity. At the same time that a body of troops advanced from the city to give battle to Hannibal, another detachment marched out at an opposite gate to reinforce the army in Spain. Livy, lib. xxvi, c. 11.

The victorious Hannibal, instead of making an additional effort of courage in compliance with the advice of his most experienced officers, and marching with rapidity to Rome, immediately after the battle of Cannæ, before his enemies could recover from their consternation, was imprudent enough to allow his soldiers to indulge in the enervating luxuries of Capua. This was the subject of his vain lamentation, as he

was reluctantly sailing back to his native country, and beheld for the last time the lessening shores of Italy, that had been so frequently the scenes of his glory. (Liv. lib. xxxiii, cap. 18, &c. lib. xxx, cap. 20.) Such is the interesting account of Livy. But it seems probable that a want of those supplies, which he requested immediately after the battle of Cannæ, was the true cause of the decline of his prosperity, and the ruin of Carthage; as he continued to infest Italy for the course of fourteen years after his stay at Capua, during that time gained several victories, and kept his enemies in a state of constant alarm for the safety of the empire.

The steady ardour of Scipio Africanus turned the tide of success, and the fortune of Hannibal and of Carthage sunk under his triumphant arms. (B. C. 202. Liv. lib. xxx, cap. 35.) The battle of Zama gave to the Romans the dominion of the world. The event of the second Punic war was particularly advantageous, by affording them the means of carrying their conquests into the most distant countries; for after the defeat of the Carthagenians, there were no maritime forces sufficiently powerful to contend with them for the command of the ocean. As their plan of operations was conducted upon regular principles, their success was not unstable and transitory, like that of Alexander the Great, but continued through the long period of nine centuries to accumulate power, and gradually add kingdom to kingdom.

After Rome had subdued the fairest countries of the ancient world, the arms of her ambitious generals were directed against each other. To the bloody proscriptions of Marius and Sylla succeeded the stratagems and triumphs of the politic and accomplished Julius Cæsar. Elated with his conquests in Gaul, and fired with the most ardent ambition, he passed the Rubicon, the prescribed boundary of his province, to plunge his sword into the bosoms of his countrymen. (B. C. 50. Ferguson, vol. ii, book iii, chap. 1, &c.) The stern virtue of Cato, and the prowess of the amiable Pompey, were ineffectually opposed to the haughty dictator. At length, pierced by the daggers of those friends whose lives he had spared, he expired in the senate-house beneath the statue of his unhappy rival. The debauched and profligate Antony forged new chains for his countrymen; and Brutus and Cassius, who for a long time opposed only mild remonstrances to his enormities and usurpation, at length had recourse to unavailing arms; and the fields of Philippi were stained with their patriotic blood. (Ferguson, vol. ii, chap. 4.) The eloquence of Cicero, which had been successively directed against the

rapacity of Verres, and the conspiracy of Catiline, was the cause of his own lamentable end. With the boldness of truth, and the warmth of indiscretion, he provoked the rage of an implacable tyrant by the enumeration of his private vices. The matchless power of his talents, the unsullied integrity of his character, and a long life devoted to the service of his friends and the public, pleaded for him in vain. The vindictive Antony fixed his guiltless head upon that rostrum, from which he had so frequently delighted and instructed his countrymen. B. C. 50.

This period of history, from the time of Marius to the accession of Augustus, presents the most calamitous prospect, filled with recitals of sanguinary proscriptions, and crowded with images of martial horror. It abounds with examples of successful villainy, and unavailing virtue. But after the naval victory of Actium had given the empire to Augustus, the scene brightened into the fair views of order and happiness, the storms of civil discord were hushed into peace, and philosophy, literature, and the arts, derived the greatest and most honourable encouragement from his patronage.

To the Tuscans Rome was first indebted for its works of architecture, sculpture, and painting. The qualities, which particularly characterized the productions of that ingenious people, were boldness, solidity, and grandeur, as appears from the foundations of the Capitol, the remains of the Cloaca Maxima, and many other specimens which are still extant. But the superior elegance of Grecian execution attracted the whole attention of the Romans, as soon as their conquests gave them an opportunity of becoming conversant with Grecian works of art.

From the indiscriminate collection of the specimens of the fine arts, arose by slow degrees the genuine taste of the Romans. When Marcellus took Syracuse, he conveyed all the pictures and statues of that elegant city to Rome. The remonstrances of Fabius Maximus against his conduct were uttered without effect; and in vain did he represent, that as such trifles formed the occupation and the amusement of an idle and an effeminate people, they were beneath the notice of his countrymen, distinguished as they were for the daring energy of their minds, and the manly roughness of their character. The love of the arts, which commenced at this period, was successively gratified by the conquest of those Grecian cities most eminent as the repositories of their productions. The triumph of Emilius was graced with some of the choicest monuments of sculpture; and Mummius, the

tasteless conqueror of Achaia, completely stripped Corinth of her statues and pictures, to enrich his native city. Sometimes the vanity, and sometimes the avarice of generals and governors of provinces, contributed to make Rome a magazine of the fairest spoils of Greece; and the custom of adorning the theatres with them by the public authority of the magistrates, contributed to diffuse a refinement of taste. And even during the bloody conflicts of the civil wars, the public and private repositories were considerably enriched; for Sylla brought home the plunder of Athens, and Julius Cæsar formed a valuable collection of ancient gems.

An æra of the highest refinement commenced with the reign of Augustus, whose palace was adorned with the rich vases of Corinth. (B. C. 27.) Grecian artists were invited to Rome, and the masterly execution of the medals of that period, prove their superiority to those of former times. The capital of the world, which Augustus found disgraced by buildings of the rudest forms and materials, displayed under his auspices and those of his son-in-law Agrippa, in its marble palaces, temples, and theatres, all the elegance and majesty of Grecian architecture. The public edifices were not only furnished with the choicest ornaments of the same country, but the streets and squares exhibited the exquisite images of all the Pagan deities.*

The same obligations which the Romans owed to Greece for inspiring them with a love of the arts, were extended to philosophy and polite literature, with this remarkable difference, that in the former they were only admirers, and in the latter they ventured to be competitors with their great masters. A fondness for sculpture and painting, and the cultivation of eloquence and poetry, kept nearly an equal pace; and the same age saw them arise, and flourish together. Writers, whose works are the glory of ancient Italy, and the subject of encomium for every generation, adorned this golden period, and reached that standard of excellence, from which the unpolished style of their predecessors, and the degenerate affectation of their followers, seem equally remote. Horace and Virgil, Tibullus and Propertius, flourished in the court of Augustus. The two first, indeed, through the noble

* The admirer of ancient sculpture may see some fine specimens of the art in the Pomfret collection in Oxford. But the best school of observation which this country can afford to any one who is desirous of improving his taste, may be found at Mr. Townly's, in Dartmouth-street, Westminster. For an entertaining account of sculpture, and of English collections in particular, see Mr. Dallaway's Anecdotes of the Arts, p. 163, &c.

patronage and friendship of Mæcenas, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor, who was himself distinguished by the elegance of his compositions, and the purity of his taste. The Lyric as well as the Epic muse were grateful for his protection and liberality; and Horace and Virgil, indulging the vanity of the Julian family, who claimed a divine origin, have raised the betrayer of Cicero, and the colleague of the profligate Antony, to the rank of a deity, and perpetuated his fame in their incomparable poems.

Augustus having always presented to his mind the image of the murdered Julius, studied to avoid his fate by avoiding his conduct. Versed in the deepest arts of dissimulation, he pursued with astonishing success his ambitious career. Yet the equity of his laws, and the prudent administration of his government, during forty years of glory and peace, made no inconsiderable recompense to his country for the evils which he had before inflicted, or countenanced. Rome itself rose to unknown splendour; and his munificence, moderation, and paternal care, were bounded only by the confines of his vast empire. He presented to the world a most extraordinary character, since he proved that the smiles of fortune, far from increasing the severity of his temper, and giving a keener edge to his resentment, could soften a timid and sanguinary tyrant into a mild and generous prince.

Perhaps the character, which the judicious historian of the Roman republic has given of him, may afford the best clue to his conduct. "He does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, those dispositions to malice or benevolence, which are the great distinguishing principles of virtue and vice. He seems to have been indifferent to mankind, but desirous of consideration and power, as objects of interest to himself. His ruling passion was a desire to reign. In his way to this end he committed many crimes; but having once effected his purpose, he had no other criminal disposition to gratify: or, after he was sovereign, standing in awe of a free spirit, which he durst not insult, he either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is surprising every one else does not prefer, the proper use of his power to the abuse of it." Ferguson, vol. iii, c. 5, &c.

But notwithstanding the external magnificence of Rome, and her prosperity during his reign and that of his immediate successors, the manners of the people gradually underwent a great change; the state contained in her bosom the causes of her own decay, and the poison of dissolution preyed upon

her vitals. She became as abject and degraded, as she had ever been great and powerful. The empress of the world sunk into the most humiliating condition; and her downfal may be attributed, I, to the extinction of patriotism; II, the introduction of luxury; III, the neglect of the ancient modes of education.

The indiscriminate admission of all the subjects of the empire to the freedom of the city, although a conciliating, was a most impolitic measure. Instead of raising the natives of the provinces to the dignity of Romans, this privilege produced the opposite effect, and sunk the latter to a level with the former. It extinguished those high sentiments of patriotism, and that pride of comparison, upon which the old republicans had valued themselves, as it destroyed an exclusive interest in the prosperity of the empire, and degraded the dignity of the Roman character. The right of citizenship was rendered of no value, by being so widely diffused; and the enthusiasm which had fired a Brutus, a Cocles, and a Manlius, to fight for the tombs of their fathers, and the altars of their gods, was extinguished. The people were no longer actuated by the same love of independence, or the same detestation of servility. They looked no more with a jealous eye upon the power of the senate, or the prerogatives of the patricians; and undistinguished in the crowds of new competitors for the same privileges, they gradually sunk into insignificance. The bond of union and subordination was broken, and the city was torn by innumerable factions of strangers, as soon as every province was allowed to form cabals and associations, and to shelter its inhabitants under the patronage of some powerful nobleman. Montesquieu, cap. ix.

The profusion and extravagance of the rich were displayed in the celebration of the public games. The combats of gladiators, and the races of charioteers were exhibited to the dissolute crowds, who, indulging only the impulse of a childish curiosity, spent whole days in the circus. The licentious productions of the stage, often represented with all the attractions of splendid decorations and crowded processions, vitiated the general taste, inflamed the passions of youth, and encouraged dissipation and immorality of conduct in persons of every class.

II. From the destruction of Carthage may be traced the gradual progress of *luxury*. Profusion and extravagance began to prevail as soon as the precious metals were introduced in abundance. Voluptuousness usurped the place of

temperance, indolence succeeded to activity; self-interest, sensuality, and avarice, totally extinguished that ardour, which in ancient times had glowed in every breast for the general good. The streams of wealth that flowed into Rome at the decline of the commonwealth, were such as almost exceed belief.* The corruption that prevailed at this time forms the strongest contrast imaginable to the pure times of the republic, when Polybius wrote his history. He contrasts the inflexible honour of the manly Romans with the perfidious character of the effeminate Greeks. The luxurious feasts of the Romans, the number of their domestics, and the variety of their places of residence, sometimes kept pace with, and sometimes even exceeded their great revenues. Apicius, the celebrated epicure, committed suicide, because his fortune, inadequate to the enormous demands of his depraved appetite, did not exceed the sum of eighty thousand pounds. Seneca mentions single suppers, which consumed the whole estate of a Roman knight. No fewer than eighteen elegant villas, situated in the most delightful parts of Italy, were possessed by Cicero: and, as if the land was not sufficient to satisfy the caprice of a Roman of fashion, the lakes and the sea were occupied by houses, which extended a considerable distance from the shores. To every nobleman belonged such numerous parties of slaves, that they were classed according to their nations, and stationed in separate divisions of his palaces.

The republic, which had long withstood the shocks of external violence, fell gradually a prey to prosperity. Her gallant chiefs had viewed with undaunted eye the approach of Hannibal, and defied the armies of Pyrrhus: but their degenerate descendants, even the posterity of Fabius and of Scipio, enriched with the spoils of Greece, and surfeited with the luxuries of Asia, leaving their battles to be fought by barbarian mercenaries, sunk supine on beds of sloth, and heard the trumpet of battle with dismay.

Such indeed was the rapid change of manners, that the genius and character of the people appear to have undergone a total alteration in the space of a century, and a general depravity was visible in all orders of the state. The consuls, after having obtained their elevated rank by intrigues and bribery, undertook their campaigns either to enrich themselves with the spoils of conquered nations, or to plunder the

* Ferguson, vol. iii, p. 346. Polybius, lib. vi, sect. 54. See the excellent note of Brotier de Luxu Romanorum. Tacitus, tom. i, p. 402, 4to. ed.

provinces of the allies under the mask of protectors and defenders. From such impure sources were derived the immense treasures of Crassus, Lucullus, and Cæsar. And as the means of corruption increased, so likewise in equal proportion did the disposition to be corrupted. The populace of the empire were tempted to the city by the distribution of corn, and the frequency of public games; obsequious, indigent, and enervated by idleness, they were ready to follow every ambitious candidate, who was rich enough to purchase their votes. The laws were silent in the midst of these abuses, or they were listened to without respect or obedience. The magistrates beheld with approbation, or with indifference, the disorders of the people. The administration of government under the emperors, influenced by the caprice of their tempers, was sometimes rigid, and sometimes relaxed: the tide of degeneracy flowed with the greatest rapidity, and swept away all ranks in its current.

To increase this train of destructive evils, the mode of *education* was completely changed. In more ancient times the noble matrons had taught their children the pure lessons of morality, and kept a strict watch over all their words and actions. Thus Cornelia educated the Gracchi, and Aurelia and Attia reared Julius and Augustus Cæsar. The minds of the noble youth were led on, sound and uncontaminated, to the study of the liberal arts, and whatever profession they followed, whether of arms, or the practice of the forum, they devoted themselves to that single pursuit, and by close application embraced the whole compass of their particular study. But in the times of which we are speaking, the children were entrusted to the care, or rather were abandoned to the arts of mean and ignorant domestics. The persons chiefly employed for this purpose were the indigent Greeks, who flocked in great numbers to Rome, and where versatility of talents, insinuating manners, and gross flattery gained them an easy admission into the families of the great, where they soon raised themselves to places of confidence and emolument. Corrupted by the examples, and encouraged by the indulgence of such masters, the young men soon assumed the character of licentiousness and effrontery. The sports of the field, and the diversions of the circus and the theatre, became the sole topics of their conversation, and the darling objects of their pursuit; and no time was given to the cultivation of the liberal arts, or the study of the Roman or Grecian history. Quintil. de Oratoribus, p. 451. Ed. Lips. Juvenal, Sat. 3.

Nor were their opinions upon the most important subjects less vitiated in early years by the progress of a specious and destructive philosophy. The principles of Epicurus had been for some time fashionable in Rome; and his disciples advancing far beyond the modest scepticism of the Academic school, boldly denied the providence of a supreme Ruler of the universe, and openly maintained that death was the extinction of all existence. These tenets gave a fatal blow to the established religion, and were calculated to undermine the great sanctions of moral obligation. The noble youths who resorted to Athens, and other seats of learning, were thus taught to despise the ceremonies, and deride the maxims of their national belief, a firm adherence to which had been the glory of their ancestors, and had not only operated powerfully upon their martial efforts, but was closely connected with the civil constitution of the republic. This philosophy had the recommendation of great and attracting examples to make it popular; for it was adorned with the poetical graces of Lucretius, and honoured by the commendation of Virgil; it was favoured by the scepticism of Cicero, and was embraced by the sagacious Cæsar, and the learned and accomplished Atticus.

The various causes of her decline prepared Rome for her most abandoned emperors. The tame servility of the senate, and the turbulent spirit of the prætorian bands, sometimes raised to the imperial purple the meanest and most undeserving of the soldiers. Yet the corruption of principles was not so general, as not to make a Nero, a Tiberius, and a Caligula surveyed with horror and detestation by their contemporaries, as well as by posterity. They were alike infamous for a profusion, which was unbounded; for a sensuality, which was a disgrace to nature; and for a vindictive rage, which was the avowed foe to liberty and virtue. From the pictures of their depravity and wanton cruelty we retire with disgust, and relieve our minds by contemplating the pure characters and glorious conduct of Titus, Nerva, Trajan, the Antonini, and Aurelius. (A. C. 80—160.) Such illustrious persons afforded some support to the declining state, but were not capable of giving permanency to their own wise and prudent institutions; since those who followed, as well as those who preceded them, were equally distinguished by a want of political talents, and for the most flagrant abuse of power. The faint and transient beams of sunshine served only to deepen the gloom which overspread a stormy atmosphere. Their justice and humanity suspended that downfall of the

empire, which they could not prevent; but the sparks of ancient virtue were so nearly extinguished, that the efforts of a few individuals, eminent as they were in station, and armed with sovereign authority, could not fan them into a flame.

As the prosperity of Rome had been attended with the flourishing state of the arts, literature and science, they gradually declined with her; and the same change, which was visible in the extinction of liberty and martial spirit, appeared equally in its effects on the intellectual powers: ignorance was the companion of corruption and servility.

The Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns issuing from the north of Europe and Asia at length poured forth vast armies, to ravage every country more cultivated than their own, and to possess themselves of the seat of government. They were drawn from their remote forests and cold abodes, either by a spirit of restless activity, and a sense of injury; or they were lured by the report of the luxuries of Italy, and the delicious fruits which abounded in that mild and genial climate.

> As oft have issued host impelling host,
> The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast,
> The prostrate south to the destroyer yields
> Her boasted titles, and her golden fields;
> With grim delight the brood of winter view
> A brighter day, and heaven of azure hue,
> Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
> And quaff the pendant vintage, as it grows.—GRAY.

These hardy barbarians rushed forth like the mighty waters of an impetuous torrent, and swept away every obstacle; their progress was marked by blood and fire, by destruction to the arts, and implacable hostility to civilized man. For nearly two centuries they continued the most desolating ravages; and the historians of that wretched period are at a loss for description sufficiently strong, or images sufficiently horrid, to represent its distress and calamity. Robertson's Charles V, vol. i, p. 6, 10, &c.

The condition in which the rapacious and warlike Alaric found the imperial city, sufficiently manifested the degeneracy of its inhabitants. (A. C. 410.) It had long been the resort of all nations, and the receptacle of those, whose follies and vices prove the different countries of their birth. To the incapacity of a weak government, the general of the Goths opposed intrepidity and military skill. His army indeed reflected the image of the ancient Romans at that momentous

period of their history, when the fruitless attempt of Hannibal to conquer his enemies served only to draw forth the full energy of their character. A fierce, hardy, and well-disciplined army, had to contend, if contest it might be called, with a luxurious and pusillanimous race of nobles, and a populace, vile, indigent, and wretched. The conqueror found the city unprepared for his attacks; he entered it amid the silence of the night, and directed his march by the conflagration of palaces. The slaughter was dreadful, the spoils immense, and the holy faith of Christ alone checked the avarice and lust of the plunderers. To complete the degradation of the imperial city, the sons and daughters of consuls and patricians attended at the festive board, and were doomed to drag the chains of the haughty Goths, who displayed their triumphant banner waving over the prostrate eagle of Rome.

The rise, aggrandizement, decline, and fall of the Roman power, are included within the compass of twelve centuries.* The mighty empire, like the majestic temples that adorned her capital, was broken into fragments, and divided among numerous nations. At the end of that period, by the incursions of foreign armies, the first foundations of those kingdoms were laid, which are now the most distinguished in the history of the western world. The Saxons contended successfully with the natives for the possession of Britain. Gaul and Spain were divided between the Franks, Visgoths, Suevi, and Burgundians; Africa was exposed to the Vandals and Moors; and Italy was filled by an army of northern barbarians.† Constantinople, which continued for some centuries after the reign of its celebrated founder to give an imperfect representation of imperial splendour, was finally taken by the Turks with its dependent territories. The Roman empire resembled the Danube, which, after pouring a grand and impetuous flood, and receiving the supply of large rivers, is divided into various streams, before it mixes with the ocean.

The Romans, illustrious as they were for the dignity of their character, their martial prowess, and the extent of their empire, hold forth a splendid light for the guidance of mankind. Their virtues in the prosperity of the commonwealth, and their vices in its decline, furnish examples and cautions to

* Rome was founded B. C. 753. Taken by Alaric A. C. 410. Duration of the Empire 1163. Gibbon, vol. iii, p. 235, &c.

† For a general view of Europe at the dissolution of the Roman empire, see the Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities; Warton's first Dissertation on English Poetry; Robertson's History of Charles V, vol. i, chap. i. Machiavel's History of Florence, book i, and Dalrymple's Essay on Feudal Property.

persons of all succeeding times. In those kings and emperors, who were remarkable for purity of character, monarchs may find examples worthy of their imitation; and commonwealths may be taught, from the disorders of their factions, what limits to prescribe to the ambition of the wealthy, and what curb to impose upon the licentiousness of the populace. To be conversant with this important history is to view mankind engaged in the fullest exercise of patriotism, courage, and talents; or to contemplate them enervated by luxury, debased by corruption, and sunk into the most abject disgrace.

——————— O Luxury
Bane of elated life, of affluent states,
What dreary change, what ruin is not thine?
How doth thy bowl intoxicate the mind,
To the soft entrance of thy rosy bower
How dost thou lure the fortunate and great!
Dreadful attraction! while behind thee gapes
The unfathomable gulf, where Ashur lies
O'erwhelm'd, forgotten, and high-boasting Cham,
And Elam's haughty pomp, and beauteous Greece,
And the great Queen of Earth, imperial Rome.
DYER'S Fleece.

In what manner the Romans declined from their greatest excellence of character, and how in their degeneracy of manners they involved the decay of genius, our imperfect sketch of their history has shown. Let the natives of Britain, perusing the instructive lessons here presented to them, indulge the feelings of compassion for the weakness of human nature; and let them at the same time collect, from such edifying examples, new encitements to energy and perseverance in every public and private virtue.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

AS *Government* and *Laws* are rendered more conducive to general happiness in modern than they ever were in ancient times; as the *Manners* of society have experienced a very great improvement in proportion to the wide diffusion of knowledge, and the facility of communication; as *Navigation* has enlarged the intercourse of mankind by the discovery of a new world; and as, moreover, the light of the protestant churches has dispelled much of the darkness of superstition

in some nations, and beamed with splendour upon others; it must surely be a subject of pleasing inquiry, to investigate the leading causes which have produced such extraordinary, such extensive, and such beneficial effects.

And when we examine more closely the nature of these effects, and consider that they have an immediate reference to our own situations in the world; that they relate to the arts which *now* adorn, and the customs which *now* regulate society; to the institutions which direct our conduct, model our manners, and influence our opinions, in all religious, as well as civil affairs; the subject will rise to a much higher degree of importance; we shall see our interest more strongly involved in it; we shall prosecute our researches with a degree of ardour proportioned to its importance, and shall set its just value upon the history of modern Europe.

The most striking objects, which this history presents to us, are,

I, The establishment and abolition of the Feudal System. II, The history of the Crusades. III, The institution of Chivalry. IV, The Reformation. V, The revival of Classical Learning.

To trace the historical outlines of those institutions, inventions, and discoveries, which discriminate the history of modern from that of ancient Europe, is our present design. To those eminent writers who have discussed the respective subjects at large, we must refer for more complete information.

I. The Feudal System.

The inhabitants of the north of Europe and Asia, who issued in great multitudes from their native forests, during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian æra, and who overturned the Roman empire, introduced a new species of government into the conquered countries, which is known by the name of the Feudal System. It is very remarkable that although the barbarians who framed it, settled in their newly acquired territories at various times, were commanded by different leaders, and spoke different languages; yet the system was established, with little variation, in every country in Europe. This great uniformity is peculiarly striking, and has furnished some writers with an argument, that all these people sprung originally from the same stock. But the fact may perhaps with more probability be attributed to the similar state of their manners, and the similar situation in

which they all found themselves, on taking possession of their new domains.

The *plan* of the *feudal* constitution was this: Every freeman, or soldier, for the terms were at that period synonymous, upon receiving an allotment of conquered lands, bound himself to appear in arms against the common enemy, whenever he should be called upon by his commander. This military service was the condition upon which every one received, and the tenure by which he continued to possess his lands; and this obligation was esteemed both easy and honourable. The same service which a soldier owed to his officer was due from an officer to his king. The king obliged those, among whom he distributed the conquered lands, to repair to his standard, with a number of followers, in proportion to the extent of their respective estates, and to assist him in all his expeditions. Thus a feudal kingdom conveys rather the idea of a military than a civil establishment. The victorious army taking their posts in different districts of a country, continued to be arranged under its proper officers, and to be subject to martial laws.*

The principle of policy upon which this singular establishment was founded, was self-defence. The new settlers in a country wished to protect themselves, not only against the attacks of the inhabitants, whom they had expelled from their possessions, but against the more formidable inroads of fresh invaders. But, unfortunately for the happiness of mankind, and the tranquillity of society, it was replete with many evils. The powerful vassals of the crown soon acquired that land as unalienable property, which was originally a grant during pleasure, and appropriated to themselves titles of honour, as well as places of trust. In process of time they obtained the power of sovereign jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, within their own domains; they exercised the privilege of coining money, and carried on wars against their private enemies. Barons possessed of such enormous power disdained to consider themselves as subjects; and the consequence was, that a kingdom was broken into as many separate principalities, as it contained powerful nobles. Innumerable causes of jealousy and discord subsisted between them, and gave rise to constant wars. Every country in Europe, either wasted or kept in continual alarm during

* See Henry's History of England, vol. i, p. 30. Spelman's Concilia, vol. i, p. 101. Wilson's Concilia, p. 171. Du Cange's Glossary, Article *Allodium*. Robertson's Charles V, vol. i, notes; and Dalrymple's Essay on Feudal Property, book i. chap. 2.

these feuds, was filled with castles and places of strength erected for the security of the despotic chieftain, not against foreign invasion, but domestic hostilities. In the reign of Stephen of England, when the feudal system was in its height, not less than a thousand castles, with their dependent territories, are said to have covered the southern part of this island. Among fierce and haughty chieftains the laws enacted by princes and magistrates commanded no degree of respect! and the right of retaliation and revenge was considered as an inherent privilege of their order. The estate of every baron was an independent territory; his castle was a strong and well garrisoned fortress, and he always considered himself as living in a state of war. When provoked by injury he met his adversary at the head of his vassals in hostile array, and trusted to his sword for the decision of the contest. Every man was the avenger of his own wrongs, and sought the redress of his grievances in single combat, the regulation and ceremonies of which were formed into a system of jurisprudence. The common people, the most useful as well as the most numerous part of the community, were reduced to the miseries of slavery. The peasant was considered as the mere produce of the soil, and was transferred from one lord to another, with the utensils and cattle of his farm. The king, stripped of almost every prerogative, and possessing little more than the empty title of sovereign, had neither power to protect the innocent, nor to punish the guilty. A general anarchy, destructive of all the comforts which men expect to derive from a state of society prevailed. To complete and confirm these evils, the progress of time gradually fixed and rendered venerable an establishment which originated in violence, and was continued with every species of despotism and injustice; a system which was as hostile to the intellectual as to the moral improvement of the mind; which banished science and the arts, sunk mankind in gross ignorance, obscured the sacred light of christianity in the thickest darkness of superstition, and was favourable only to the growth of those stern virtues, which are characteristic of uncivilized nations. The rigour of tyranny hardened the minds of the nobles, the yoke of vassalage debased the spirit of the people, the generous sentiments inspired by a sense of equality were extinguished, and there was no check to ferocity and violence. Accordingly a greater number of those atrocious actions, which fill the mind with astonishment and horror, occur in the history of the feudal times, than in that of any period of the same extent in the annals of Europe.

Such was the deplorable state of society from the seventh to the eleventh century. From that æra may be dated the return of government, laws, and manners, in a contrary direction. We shall hereafter notice the favourable effects of the Crusades and of Chivalry upon the feudal system. In succeeding times a variety of causes began to operate, which checked the licentiousness of the barons, softened the ferocity of their manners, and finally put a period to their domination. The establishment of standing armies in the fifteenth century gave more effectual authority to kings; and from that time they no longer regarded their nobles as their equals, or found it necessary to have recourse to timid counsels, or feeble efforts, to controul their power. They began not only to wield the sceptre, but to brandish the sword; and either checked the designs of their barons by intimidation, or punished their rebellion by force.

Charles the seventh of France, urged by his desire of expelling the English from France in the year 1445, was the first who adopted this measure; but as it was so repugnant to the genius of the feudal system, and required the greatest boldness to carry it into execution, he retained a large body of forces in his service, and appointed funds for their regular payment. The principal nobility soon resorted to his standard, and looked up to him as the judge, and the rewarder of merit. The feudal militia, composed of men of rank, and military talents, who were only occasionally called out, were in time regarded with contempt, by soldiers accustomed to the operations of regular service. This example of breaking the independent power of the barons was followed by the politic Henry VII, of England. He undermined that edifice, which it was not prudent to attack with open force. By judicious laws he permitted his nobles to break the entail of their estates, and to expose them to sale. He prohibited them from keeping numerous bands of retainers, which had rendered them formidable to his predecessors. By encouraging agriculture and commerce, and all the arts of peace during a long reign, and by enforcing a vigorous and impartial execution of the laws, he not only removed many immediate evils resulting from the feudal system, but provided against their future return. The influence of his salutary plans was gradually felt, and they contributed more and more, in process of time to the good order, prosperity, and general welfare of his subjects.

II. The Crusades.

Few expeditions are more extraordinary than those which were undertaken by the crusaders, for the recovery of the Holy Land out of the power of the Turks. If we consider the great numbers of Europeans who were engaged in them, or their long and obstinate perseverance in the same design, notwithstanding an almost uninterrupted series of hardships, losses, and defeats; and if we reflect upon the important consequences with which these events were attended, both to themselves and their descendants; the history of the crusades, including a period of one hundred and seventy-five years, from A. D. 1095 to 1270, will be found to merit very particular regard, and to follow in proper order our survey of the feudal system.

From the æra of the crusades may be traced the diffusion of several kinds of knowledge, and the various improvements of society in manners, commerce and arts. And from the communication of the western with the eastern nations arose a succession of causes, which with different degrees of influence, and with more or less rapidity, contributed to abolish anarchy and confusion, and to introduce order and improvement into society.

Judea, or the Holy Land, was the highest object of veneration to the christians of the middle ages. There had lived the Son of God; there he had performed the most astonishing miracles; and there he had suffered death for the sins of the world. His holy sepulchre was preserved at Jerusalem; and as a degree of veneration was annexed to this consecrated place, nearly approaching to idolatry, a visit to it was regarded as the most meritorious service which could be paid to heaven; and it was eagerly frequented by crowds of pilgrims from every part of Europe. If it be natural to the human mind to survey those spots which have been the abode of illustrious persons, or the scenes of great transactions, with delight and veneration, what must have been the ardour with which the christians of those times, the ruling passion of whose mind was religious enthusiasm, regarded a country which the Almighty had selected as the residence of his chosen people, and the place where his Son had shed his precious blood, to expiate the sins, and accomplish the redemption of mankind? The zealous travellers to Palestine were long exposed to the insults, extortions, and cruelty of the ferocious and hostile Infidels: but at length their com-

plaints roused the Europeans to attempt their expulsion. Peter surnamed the Hermit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, was the first mover of this great project.* Armed with the authority of Pope Urban II, he traversed the countries of Europe, and with rude but pathetic eloquence described the injuries he had received in his pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre. He quickly kindled the ardour of persons of all ranks. The first converts to his active missionary became the warmest advocates for the expedition. Great numbers, chiefly consisting of peasants, ill-provided with necessaries, and whose ignorance magnified the hopes and diminished the dangers of the undertaking, perished in the forests of Hungary, or the plains of Asia. A pyramid of bones, erected by Solyman, the emperor of the Turks, near the city of Nice, informed their followers of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders three hundred thousand are said to have fallen a sacrifice to their fanaticism, before a single city was rescued from the infidels. More strongly stimulated, rather than deterred by this catastrophe, Baldwin, earl of Flanders; Godfrey of Bouillon; Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the king of France; Raymond, count of Thoulouse; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror; Bohemond and Tancred, who were likewise princes of the Norman race, set forth upon this enterprize: all were chiefs of high renown, famed for their prowess in arms, and stimulated by the same intrepid and fanatical spirit. They were followed by their numerous adherents and vassals, whose services were either prompted by zeal and attachment to their respective lords, or purchased with rewards and promises.†

Constantinople was at that time the largest as well as the most beautiful city in Europe. It alone retained the image of ancient elegance in manners and in arts. It was the place where manufactures of the most curious fabric were wrought.

* A. D. 1095 to 1099. Gibbon, vol. vi, cap. 58, &c. Robertson's Charles V, vol. i, p. 292, &c. History of Modern Europe, vol. i, letter 24, &c. Introduction to the Literary History of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Rapin, vol. i, p. 244, &c.

† "The crusaders wore a cross most commonly on their shoulders in gold, or silk, or cloth, sewed on their garments. In the first crusade, all were red; in the third, the French alone preserved that colour, while green crosses were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the English." Gibbon, vol. vi, p. 8. "The cross was inscribed by some zealots on their skin; a hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark." Idem, p. 17.

"Armorial bearings were invented to reward merit, and distinguish families; and the science of heraldry may be traced back to Palestine." Introd. to the Hist. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It was the mart of Europe for all commodities of the East, and the seat of empire, elegance, and magnificence. Such was the place appointed as a general rendezvous for all the crusaders. Several contemporary writers were witnesses to this singular assembly of different nations; and they give a lively picture of the characters and manners of each people. When the polite natives of the metropolis of the East speak of the northern warriors, they describe them as barbarous, illiterate, fierce, and savage; and they sometimes inveigh against them with great violence, and relate instances of their ferocity and devastation in terms not unlike those, which preceding historians had employed in describing the incursions of the Goths and Vandals, when they overturned the Roman empire. But on the other hand, the crusaders, while they despised the effeminate manners and unwarlike character of the Greeks, were surprised at the wealth and magnificence of their metropolis.

After suffering various hardships and losses, the crusaders at length reached the walls of Jerusalem. Forty days were employed in the seige of the holy city: at the expiration of which they took it by assault: and forgetful of the lessons of mercy taught by their great master, whose ensign they bore, they indulged in the rage of promiscuous slaughter, and put all the Jews and Turks, of every age, and of either sex, to the sword. The events which happened during this romantic expedition, and the heroic exploits performed by the champions of the Cross, and their Mahometan foes, furnish the subject of the celebrated poem of Tasso, the most pleasing memorial which is left to us of this enterprize. Godfrey of Bouillon, the most worthy of the heroes of Christendom, was proclaimed king of Jerusalem. In imitation of his Saviour he was crowned with thorns; he rejected the appendages of royalty, and contented himself with the modest title of Defender, and Baron of the holy sepulchre. (A. D. 1099.) His companions, with the exception only of the gallant Tancred and his adherents, returned to Europe: after whose departure the Turks insulted the garrison of Jerusalem: and the short reign of Godfrey, which continued only for one year, did not give him time to secure the stability of his new kingdom. In vain did the knights of the hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon, who in their associations blended the discipline of a monastic with the hardships of a military life, endeavour to support the tottering throne of Baldwin, his successor. Surrounded by the exasperated and restless Mahometans, he was compelled to solicit a reinforce-

ment from the kingdoms of Europe for the support of his declining power.

The fruits reaped in this first crusade ill repaid its great loss and expense, and were comprised within the little territory of Jerusalem, the dominion of which was bounded by the term of four-score years. The holy war, however, continued to be recommended in the letters of the Pope, and the sermons of the clergy, with unabated ardour and zeal. It was still represented to the people as the cause of God and of Christ, in which death would confer the merit of martyrdom, and paradise would be equally the reward of defeat, or of victory.

St. Bernard, famed for his eloquence and enthusiastic piety, and the great influence which he obtained amongst the people, flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century. Armed with the authority of Pope Eugene III, he rekindled the expiring flame of military fanaticism. With a voice that was in every place obeyed without delay, he called the nations to the protection of the holy sepulchre. The fame of his pretended miracles and predictions removed every doubt of success from the minds of his credulous hearers; insomuch that all who were able to bear arms were eager to participate the glory of the pious warfare. Bernard was invited to become a leader in the expedition which he so zealously recommended; but he prudently declined an appointment which would eventually have exposed him to the ridicule, and probably to the resentment of his followers. He was more fortunate in advancing the interests of the church than in the success of his projects, or the fulfilment of his predictions. The court of Rome profited by his labours and canonized his memory. Conrad III, emperor of Germany, and Louis VII, king of France, were the principal agents in the second crusade. (A. D. 1147.) From the hands of Bernard they received the cross, with assurances that he had the authority from heaven to promise them victory. Their cavalry was composed of one hundred and forty thousand knights, and their immediate attendants; and if even the light armed troops, the women and children, the priests and monks, be excluded from the computation of their effective forces, their number will arise to four hundred thousand souls. The fatal errors of their predecessors suggested the safer expedient of a voyage, in preference to a march into Palestine; and the sea-ports of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, were from this time frequented by the crusaders for that purpose. In the Italian states they found more cultivated manners, and greater know-

ledge, than their own countries could boast; so that in them, as well as in the metropolis of the East, the most striking examples of civilization and refinement were furnished to these rude adventurers.

The event of this enterprise proved still more disastrous to the cause of the crusaders than their first expedition. Manuel, the emperor of the Greeks, is accused by his own subjects of giving intelligence of their plans to the Turkish Sultan, and of providing them with treacherous guides. The conduct of the Christian leaders was dictated by no sound policy, or vigorous co-operation. Instead of crushing the common foe by a preconcerted attack at the same time on different sides of his territories, Louis of France had scarcely passed the Bosphorus, when he was met by the returning emperor who had lost the greatest part of his army in a battle on the banks of the Meander. The king of France advanced through the same country to a similar fate: and was glad to shelter the relics of his army in the sea-port of Satalia. At Jerusalem these unfortunate monarchs met to lament their sad reverses of fortune. Their martial trains, the slender remnants of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria; and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade.

The third, undertaken by Frederic Barbarossa, emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and France, was most remarkable for the victories of Saladin, the temperate, brave, and generous chief of the Saracens. His pretensions to commendation and renown were much better founded than those of Philip of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion. His life exhibited a series of actions which his rivals in arms would have done well to have imitated, and which, far from disgracing, would have reflected honour upon the profession of a Christian. He appears not to have been deficient either in literature or science; and, in the progress of his conquests, he respected the arts. When he retook Jerusalem he treated his captives not only with clemency, but even with kindness. We must not, however, deprive Richard of England of his due praise for military prowess, as he displayed, upon all occasions of danger and enterprise, the most heroic courage. He took the city of Acre, a place which has in our own times been the scene of undaunted valour and steady perseverance of the natives of Britain; and among other spoils, esteemed of inestimable value in an age of gross superstition, he recovered some of the wood which was said to belong to the cross of Christ. The bravery of Richard

continued for many years to be proverbial in the East; his terrific name was used by the Syrian mother to silence the refractory child, and by the rider to check the starting horse. The perfidious conduct of Philip of France, in taking advantage of the absence of Richard to invade his territories in Normandy, in direct violation of his solemn oath, obliged him to conclude a truce with Saladin, who was allowed to retain possession of Jerusalem, on condition that the holy sepulchre should be open to the visits of Christian pilgrims without molestation or tribute. When the treaty was concluded the English monarch informed Saladin that he might depend upon his return to try once more to recover the Holy Land. The Sultan, with a politeness which would have done honour to the most refined age, replied that if it must be his misfortune to lose that part of his dominions, he had rather it should be to the king of England than to any other monarch in the world. (Rapin, vol. i, p. 252, fol.) The gallant Richard embarked for Europe to endure a long captivity, and find an early grave; and the space of a few months after his departure from the Holy Land terminated the life of Saladin.

Historians have recorded the details of no less than *seven* different crusades, including a period of an hundred and seventy-five years; in which time numerous armies were led to disgrace the Christian name in the East. The two last crusades were undertaken by Louis the ninth, king of France, whose fleet conveyed a well-appointed and numerous army to the coasts of Egypt; (A. D. 1248.) and there, after an ineffectual display of valour, he was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles. All who could not redeem their lives at an excessive ransom, were massacred by the barbarous Mahometans, and the walls of Cairo were covered with Christian heads. The king of France was loaded with chains; but his deliverance, with that of many of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta, and the payment of an immense sum of gold. After sixteen years of repose this enterprising and bigotted monarch again embarked from France, and undertook the wild project of baptizing the king of Tunis. (A. D. 1270.) On the barren sands of Africa his army exhausted by fatigue, and sinking under the influence of a burning climate, was quickly reduced to inconsiderable numbers. Louis expired in his tent; and at the moment of his death his son and successor gave the signal for retreat.

After the loss of Jerusalem the city of Acre, from which

it is distant about 70 miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians. There the different powers of Europe, and the masters of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic order assumed an independent command over a promiscuous multitude of pilgrims and fugitives. To avenge the plunder of some Mahometan villages, and the murder of some Syrian merchants, the sultan Khalil besieged and stormed it, and 60,000 Christians were doomed to death or captivity. The loss of Acre was in fact the loss of the Holy Land; and the memorable year 1291 terminated the folly, fanaticism, and unprofitable valour of the Christians in the crusades.

That these wars were upon the whole disastrous and unfortunate can be no subject of surprise, when we consider the manners and the dispositions of those who engaged in them, and the difficulties with which they were obliged to contend. Actuated by romantic fervour, and confident of victory, their plans were always uniform; and, in their subsequent expeditions, they rarely profited by the miscarriage of those that preceded. Jealous and vindictive, they agreed only in wearing the badge of the Cross, and were torn by intestine divisions and feuds: they therefore never co-operated with perfect cordiality, when they reached the field of action. Depredation and bloodshed marked their steps in the countries through which they passed; and they roused the vengeance, instead of conciliating the affections, of the Christian Greeks, as well as of the Mahometan Syrians.

The remoteness of Palestine from Europe, and the nature of the climate, ought likewise not to be disregarded. The crusaders, whether they marched by way of Constantinople, or embarked from the ports of Italy, if we consider their total inexperience in remote expeditions, must have been greatly diminished in numbers, and weakened by fatigue, before they reached the field of action. The burning heat of Syria, the want of provisions, the scarcity of water, and the consequent diseases must have deprived them of much of that energy and vigour so essentially necessary to their success. They were opposed by intrepid and active foes, as enthusiastic in the cause of their Prophet as the Christians were in behalf of their Redeemer: acting in concert, superior in the various arts of war, fighting in their own country, and able to avail themselves of all its advantages and resources.

These wars display in the strongest light the influence of the Papal power. The Pontiffs summoned the princes of

Europe to arms, sent them to conquer new kingdoms, in order to enlarge the dominions of the holy see, regulated even beyond the boundaries of the ocean the conduct of kings and emperors, and thus exercised a supreme and universal sovereignty.

If we endeavour to trace the various causes which led to the crusades, we shall find that the opinions, manners, and prejudices of the Europeans of the middle ages, all conspired to precipitate them into these enterprizes, without any consideration of the injustice, inhumanity, or impolicy of their conduct.

Vain would it have been for any enlightened Christian at that time to have urged, in order to quench the flame of fanaticism, and spare the effusion of blood, that the crusaders had no right to wrest Judea from the hands of its possessors; and that their zeal for the recovery of Bethlehem, the place where the Son of God was born, or Mount Calvary, where he was crucified, could not justify their violation of the moral precepts of his Gospel. To such arguments as these the superstitious would not have listened; the cause was too deeply implicated with their darling passions and prejudices, to be decided by an appeal to sober reason, or the genuine dictates of christianity.

Their religious enthusiasm was greatly augmented by their passion for war. Commerce, manufactures, and arts, were at that time, if considered as general and national, occupations in a state of infancy, and the mass of the people were destitute of regular employment. They caught with eagerness at any occasion which relieved them from a state of inactivity, and afforded room for the indulgence of their favourite inclinations. In the time of the crusades chivalry began to flourish; and those knights who were inspired with a romantic desire to travel in quest of adventures, turned their eyes with eagerness to Asia, which promised to open such new scenes of enterprize and glory as could not be found in Europe. Persons of inferior rank flattered themselves with the most sanguine expectations of conquest, were confident that victory would attend their steps, and that they should return home loaded with the spoils of the East.

Such was the origin of this spirit of enterprize. The great privileges and immunities granted to the crusaders may serve to account for its long continuance in Europe. The Popes proclaimed a complete indulgence and pardon for crimes to every one who would take up arms in the cause. Of this sacrifice to licentiousness and immorality the profligate and

vicious took advantage, and eagerly embraced a profession which placed war, plunder, and conquest, in the list of duties. If they succeeded in this undertaking they were assured that abundant riches would enable them to live happily on earth; and if they fell victims to a service so meritorious they were persuaded that the gates of heaven would be open to them, and that, without requiring any other proof of their obedience to the laws of christianity, they should obtain the crown of martyrdom.

There was another motive which operated as a strong inducement to the multitudes who assumed the badge of the Cross. At the close of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh century, it was the prevailing opinion that the world would shortly come to an end, and that the Saviour of mankind would make his second appearance on Mount Calvary. This was the subject of extensive alarm and anxious expectation; and the pilgrims to the Holy Land set out from Europe with a determination to die there, or to wait the advent of the Lord.

When we consider these various causes as gradually operating, for a considerable space of time, upon the minds of the credulous, the superstitious, and the adventurous, we shall be less surprised at the vast multitudes who resorted to the standard of the Cross, erected in the first crusade by Urban the second, or who, in succeeding expeditions, regardless of the defeats and losses of their predecessors, trod in their steps to meet the same fate.

The constant demand of recruits to supply the armies destined for the Holy Land was very hurtful to the population of Europe; and the evils resulting from this drain of its inhabitants continued to be felt for a considerable time. Few disadvantages, however, could arise from getting rid of a multitude of persons, whose chief delight consisted in rapine and plunder; or who, for want of the employments furnished by manufactures, trade and commerce, lived in idleness and poverty.

Rude and ignorant as the crusaders were, they could not travel through and continue in so many interesting countries with indifference; or behold their various customs and institutions, without acquiring information and improvement. Among the Greeks they surveyed the productions of the fine arts, and the precious remains of antiquity, the magnificence of the eastern court, and the models of extensive and curious manufactories. In Asia they beheld the traces of knowledge and arts, which the patronage of the Caliphs had dif-

fused through their empire. Every object which struck their attention pointed out a far higher state of improvement than their own countries had reached; every object, therefore, while it excited the wonder of them all, could not fail to excite a spirit of imitation among those who were active and ingenious. As these new scenes presented themselves, their eyes were gradually opened to a more extensive prospect of the world, and they acquired new modes of thinking, felt a sense of new wants, and a taste for new gratifications.

Various advantages, many of which were neither foreseen nor expected by the projectors of these enterprises, were derived from the holy wars. It is a remark justified by the experience of ages, that the inhabitants of the western world are distinguished by a peculiar acuteness of observation, an active and imitative spirit, and a great energy of character. In the course of their expedition they acquired a taste for the arts and sciences; and the example of the Arabian and Syrian merchants taught them the value of trade, and the use of several manufactures. In the superior refinements of Cairo and Constantinople they discovered various commodities worth importing into Europe. From this period is dated the introduction of silk and sugar, which were conveyed into Italy from Greece and Egypt; and the advantages which resulted from a more enlarged and adventurous traffic to the Pisans, the Genoese, and the Venetians, who laid the foundation of the modern commercial system. The crusaders began that intercourse with the East, which under the pacific forms of commerce has continued with little interruption ever since. On their return to Europe they introduced a new taste in buildings, a more superb display of magnificence on public occasions, the rich manufactures of Asia, together with a more romantic spirit of enterprise, and the first improvements in learning and science.

The most beneficial effects of the crusades were visible in the alteration which they occasioned in the state of property, by the emancipation of vassals from the tyranny of their lords, and by increasing the growing independence of the feudal tenants. Many of the great barons, unable to support the expenses incurred by their expeditions to Palestine, sold their hereditary possessions. The monarchs of different countries took advantage of these opportunities of annexing considerable territories to their dominions, and purchased them at a small expense. The fiefs likewise of those barons who died in the holy wars without heirs reverted to their respective sovereigns; and by these possessions being taken from one

scale, and thrown into the other, the regal power increased in proportion as that of the nobility declined. The great cities of Italy which had begun to turn their attention towards commerce, were impatient to shake off the yoke of their insolent lords, and to establish such a government as would make property secure, and the exercise of industry safe and easy. They purchased or extorted large immunities and grants from the emperors of Germany; and other countries, particularly France, followed their example. The great barons were eager to lay hold of this new expedient for raising money by the sales of charters of independence and enfranchisement to the towns within their domains; and, in order to procure immediate relief for their exigencies, they disregarded the consequences which might result from the establishment and the ascendency of municipal power. Thus commenced the privileges granted to corporations, and the rights acquired by communities of citizens. The benefits which accrued to the public at large by these concessions, were of the highest importance, as they were favourable to regularity and good order, to the extension of freedom, and the exertions of diligence, the more exact and uniform administration of justice, and the comfort and happiness of the inferior classes of society. Thus we may observe the beneficial effects of the crusades, in producing a new order of things, and erecting the first strong and durable barrier against the licentiousness, rapine, discord, and tyranny of the Feudal system.

III. The Institution of Chivalry.

Although the extravagancies of knight errantry, and the marvellous and incredible stories related in the old romances of the Seven Champions of Christendom, Sir Launcelot, Amadis de Gaul, King Arthur, and the noble Knights of the Round Table, who went forth in search of adventures into all parts of the world, have been made the entertaining subjects of burlesque description, particularly in the well-known works of Cervantes, Rabelais, and Butler; yet we must not mistake imaginary for real chivalry.* The former existed only in old romances, and as such was the object at

* "The Duke d'Alva said that Don Quixote would ruin Spain; though in truth the ridicule of that ingenious book is not pointed against the spirit of chivalry, but against the absurd representation of it in the Spanish romances."

Lord Lyttelton's Henry II, vol. iii, p. 54.

which these celebrated writers aimed their successful ridicule and satire: but we shall find, on examining the origin and progress of the latter, that it was a noble and a beneficial institution, the result of an enlightened policy, considering the times in which it was established; that it increased the glory of the nations in which it flourished; it enabled the nobility and gentry of Europe to resist the military enthusiasm of the Saracens and Turks; and had a very powerful effect in alleviating the evils of the feudal system, and refining the manners of the higher ranks of society. In times when robbery, oppression, barbarity, and licentiousness, prevailed in most of the countries of Europe, it supplied in many instances, although imperfectly, the place of law; and in the hands of valour, was the instrument of humanity and justice.

If chivalry be considered only as a simple ceremony by which the noble youths who were destined for war received their first arms, the custom was known among the ancient Germans and was established in France in the reign of Charlemagne, at the commencement of the ninth century. That emperor sent to Aquitain for his son Louis, and presented him with a sword, and all the equipage of a warrior. William of Malmesbury mentions that about the same time king Alfred presented his grandson Athelston with a sword, and a rich belt with a crimson robe, as the ensigns of knighthood. But if we look upon chivalry as a dignity which gave the first military rank, and which was conferred by a particular kind of investiture, attended with appropriate ceremonies, and ratified by a solemn oath, it would be difficult to trace it to a more remote period than the eleventh century.*

France claims the honour of giving this institution its specific character at the time when that kingdom was recovering from the disorders which followed the extinction of the second race of its monarchs. The royal authority began again to be respected, laws were enacted, corporations were founded, and the numerous fiefs held by the great barons under the crown, were governed with greater regularity. It was in this state of affairs, that the sovereigns and the great lords were desirous of strengthening the feudal ties by adding to the ceremony of doing homage, that of giving arms to their young

* Memoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie par de la Carne de St. Palaye. Academ. des Inscriptions tom. xx, p. 597, &c. The ingenious dialogue "on Chivalry and Romance," by the Bishop of Worcester, led me to this copious source of information, from which I have derived the greatest part of my statement. See Warton on Spenser, and Lyttelton's Henry II, vol. ii, p. 232.

vassals, previous to their first military expeditions. It is highly probable, that by conferring the same honourable distinction upon other persons, who did not hold any lands under them, but who offered their services from motives of esteem, or the desire of military renown, the sovereigns and great barons availed themselves of this expedient to secure the co-operation of new warriors, who were ready to follow their standard upon all occasions, when they could only rely upon their own dependants to serve them in certain districts for a limited time. They received with joy these brave volunteers, who, by increasing their forces, gave additional strength to their power; and as every knight had the privilege of creating other knights, the sovereign exercised, without exciting jealousy, a privilege, which he possessed in common with others. Every gentleman who was designed for the profession of arms was trained by a long preparatory course of discipline and service in some noble family, and was during his youth the companion of some warrior of renown. The ceremonies which attended his knighthood were solemn and impressive. They combined the rights of religion with the forms of feudal duty; and resembled the mode of admitting a proselyte into the church, as well as that of a vassal doing homage for a fief. The candidate for this distinction, accompanied by his sponsors and his priests, passed the night previous to his initiation in watching his arms, and in the duties of prayer. The next morning he repaired to the bath, the water of which was intended to serve as an emblem of the purity of his profession. He then walked to the nearest church clothed in white garments, and presented his sword to the minister officiating at the altar, who returned it to him with his benediction. After taking the accustomed oaths to his sovereign, or feudal chief, he was invested by the attendant knights and ladies with certain parts of his armour. He was first presented with gilt spurs,* a coat of mail, and gauntlets; and lastly he was begirt with a sword. The sovereign then rising from the throne conferred upon him, whilst kneeling, the honour of knighthood, by giving him three strokes with the flat part of a drawn sword upon his shoulders or neck. He then saluted the young warrior, and pronounced these words: "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight: be brave, bold, and loyal."

* "Esquires were not allowed to wear any gold in their dress, although knights were from hence, as well as from wearing gilt spurs, distinguished by the name of *Equites Aurati*."

Lord Littelton, Hen. II, v. 2, p. 256.

His horse and the remaining part of his armour were afterwards presented to him, and the ceremony was concluded with a costly banquet. Palaye, p. 666, &c.

Important and numerous were the privileges attached to this profession of arms, and its duties were at once arduous and indispensable. To protect the ladies was an essential part of them. Incapable of taking arms for the preservation of their property, and destitute of the means to prove the purity of their characters, if attacked by malevolence or slander, they would frequently in those uncivilized times, when law and justice were silenced by violence and force, have seen their lands become a prey to some tyrannical neighbour, or have their reputation blasted by the breath of calumny, if some knight had not come forward in their defence. To the succour of the distressed, the protection of orphans, the emancipation of captives, and the chastisement of oppression, he likewise dedicated his sword, and his life. If he failed in a scrupulous attention to these benevolent offices, he was looked upon as deserting the most solemn obligations, and was degraded from his rank with public marks of disgrace. If he performed them with activity and spirit, he was regarded as an honour to his profession, and his renown was spread over every part of Europe.

In the character of a true knight during the golden age of chivalry we behold an assemblage of virtues which command our esteem and admiration, and confer the most honourable distinction upon human nature. His air was noble, his deportment manly, and his manners condescending and gracious to all. His promise was inviolable and sacred; and he chastised that falsehood in others, which was the peculiar object of his abhorrence. His love of arms was softened by the refinements of courtesy, the fair offspring of that high-born and noble society, which he enjoyed in the castles of the great. His professions of attachment and service were invariably sincere; and all his actions were dictated by courage, and guided by honour. He was as ambitious to render his name illustrious by affability, probity, generosity and benevolence, as by the extent and number of his exhibitions, trophies, and victories. By such conduct were those knights signalized, whom their contemporaries celebrated as the fairest ornaments of chivalry, and whose renown has been transmitted through all succeeding ages. Such were Edward the black prince, the Chevalier Bayard, and Sir Philip Sidney.

Edward the black prince was accomplished, valiant, and amiable. One anecdote of his behaviour will be sufficient

to prove that he was as moderate in the use of victory, as he was great in obtaining it. "Soon after the glorious battle of Poictiers, in 1356, he landed at Southwark, and was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. His prisoner, John, King of France, was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty, and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the King of France to his father, who received him with the same courtesy, as if he had been a neighbouring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit. It is impossible, on reflecting on this noble conduct, not to perceive the advantages which resulted from the otherwise whimsical principles of chivalry, and which gave, even in those rude times, some superiority even over people of a more cultivated age and nation." Hume, vol. iii, p. 460.

The *Chevalier Bayard*, the valorous and distinguished companion of Charles the 8th, Louis the 12th, and Francis the 1st, in their wars, flourished at the beginning of the 16th century. After taking the city of Bresse he received a large sum from his host for saving his house from being plundered. Of this money he generously made a present to his two daughters who brought it. In the following winter he was quartered at Grenoble, near a young lady of good family, but of indigent circumstances: her beauty inflamed his love, and her situation gave him hopes of being able to gratify it. Her mother, urged by poverty, accepted his proposals, and compelled her reluctant daughter to visit him. As soon as she was introduced into his presence she threw herself at his feet, and with streaming eyes besought him not to dishonour an unfortunate damsel whom it was more consistent with a person of his virtuous character to protect. "Rise," exclaimed the Chevalier, "you shall quit this place as innocent as you entered it, but more fortunate." He instantly conducted her home, reproved her mother, and gave the daughter a marriage portion of 600 pistoles. This conquest he gained over himself at the age of twenty-six, when in the situation of the great Scipio Africanus, he was most exposed to temptation, as "juvenis, et cœlebs, et victor." At the battle of Marignan against the Swiss, in 1515, he fought by the side of Francis I, and so impressed was that monarch with the high opinion of his prowess, that he received from his

hand the honour of knighthood. Being once asked what possessions a nobleman had best leave to his son, he replied, "such as are least exposed to the power of time or human force—*Wisdom* and *Virtue*." At the retreat of the French at Rebec he received a mortal wound, and with his last breath requested his Esquire to inform the King, "that the only regret he felt on leaving the world was that he could serve him no longer." He then requested to be placed under a tree facing the enemy, and then expired. He was called the "Knight without fear and without reproach," and no one could have a better claim to so excellent a character.

Sir Philip Sidney, descended from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland by the mother's side, was born at Penshurt, in Kent, 1554, and died at the age of 32. During his education at Shrewsbury and Oxford he made astonishing proficiency in all branches of learning. His conduct was upon all occasions such as to do honour to a true Knight. He could not brook the least affront, even from persons of the highest rank, as he proved by his spirited behaviour to the haughty Earl of Oxford, a nobleman very high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth. This quarrel occasioned his retirement from court, during which he wrote his Romance called Arcadia, which he dedicated to his sister the countess of Pembroke. At the grand tournament held in 1581, for the entertainment of Anjou, when he came to London to solicit the Queen in marriage, Sir Philip went through his feats of arms with great ability, and gained singular commendation. Such was his fame for relieving all who were in distress that when the Spaniards had seized the kingdom of Portugal, Don Antonio, the chief competitor for the crown, applied to him for his assistance. He was appointed Governor of Flushing, one of the towns delivered by the Dutch to the Queen, and in several actions with the enemy behaved with extraordinary courage, and with such mature judgment as would have done credit to the most experienced commanders. His high renown and great deserts were so well known throughout Europe that he was put in nomination for the crown of Poland upon the death of Stephen Batori, but the Queen refused to further his promotion. On the 22d of September, 1586, being sent out to intercept a convoy that was advancing to Zutphen, he fell into an ambuscade, and received a fatal wound in the thigh. In his sad progress from the field of battle, passing by the rest of the army, where his uncle, Robert Earl of Leicester was, and being thirsty with excessive loss of blood, he called for drink, which was soon

brought him: but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had been wounded at the same time, eagerly fixing his eyes upon it. As soon as Sir Philip perceived his inclination he delivered the bottle to him with these words, "Thy necessity is greater than mine." This action discovered a disposition so tender, a mind so fortified against pain, a heart so overflowing with generosity to relieve distress in opposition to the most urgent call of his own necessities, that none can read a detail of it without the highest admiration. Finding himself past all hopes of recovery, he prepared for death with the greatest composure, and assembled the clergymen of divers nations, before whom he made a full confession of his christian faith. The closing scene of his life was the parting with his brother, Sir Robert Sidney, of whom he took leave in these words, "Love my memory, cherish my friends; their faith to me may assure you they are sincere: but above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your Creator, in me beholding the end of the world with all her vanities." As he had been during his life beloved, admired, and almost idolized by all ranks of men, so was his death most deeply lamented. He was the fairest flower of Chivalry, the bright jewel of an illustrious court, and a pattern of superior excellence, even in an age of heroes.*

A knight was always known by a device on his shield, and the peculiarities of his blazonry, which were allusive to some of his martial exploits. Great honours were paid to him after his decease, particularly if he was slain in battle. His funeral was most solemn, and very fully attended. His sword, helmet, spurs, gauntlets, and armorial ensigns, were suspended over the hallowed spot of his interment, or his cenotaph. His splendid tomb, graced with his effigy, and marked with a suitable inscription, was considered as a tribute of the justest respect to his virtues, and as a powerful incentive to inflame the youthful warrior to tread the same path of valour and renown.

Chivalry was indebted to religion for much of the ardour with which its votaries were animated. Such was the superstition of the times that no institution of a public nature could have obtained reputation in the world, which was not consecrated by the church, and closely interwoven with the religious opinions of the times. To the incentives of zeal were added the spirit of gallantry, and a romantic attachment

* Lord Lyttelton's Life of Hen. II, v. 8, p. 54. Biographia Brit. Article Sidney, &c.

to the fair sex. The youthful knight, previous to his going forth upon any warlike expedition, devoted himself to the service of some lady, who was usually the object of his ardent love. It was his most lively hope that her smiles and her hand would reward his valour: he bore her device upon his arms; to her he consecrated his trophies; and to gain her favour and approbation he was ready upon all occasions to meet danger, and shed his blood. This passion was the keenest incitement that was given to his heroic actions, and fired his mind with unabating enthusiasm. Amid foreign invasion or domestic feuds, where the opposing barons and their vassals encountered each other in the hottest engagements, the faithful knight, as he couched his lance, and rushed to meet the foe, invoked the mistress of his heart, and gloried by his achievements to render himself worthy of her regard. When peace brought a short interval of repose, and rival knights contended in the justs and tournaments, the applauding lady often adjudged the prizes to the victorious champions, and rewarded the valour which she had inspired. In the lofty hall decked with banners and trophies of war, when the banquet was given to the jocund train of nobles, and their gallant companions in arms, the harp and the songs of the minstrel resounded the praises of the fair; and every pageant and celebrity concurred to keep the mind in the same direction to its beloved object.

The ambition of pleasing a favourite lady, and of being worthy to be considered as her champion in the field of battle, as well as in the tournaments, was a motive which stimulated a knight to the most daring actions, and animated him with the most determined valour. Many instances are recorded in the history of the middle ages, of the height to which this romantic gallantry arose. (Palaye, p. 653.) It was not unusual for a knight in the midst of a battle or a siege, to challenge his enemy to single combat, and refer to the decision of arms the transcendent beauty of their ladies.

We have before taken occasion to observe that the treatment of women in Greece and Rome was harsh and degrading. They were confined to a state of seclusion from the world, had but few attentions paid to them, and were allowed to take little share in the general intercourse of life. The northern nations, on the contrary, paid a kind of religious veneration to the female sex, considered them as endowed with superior and even divine qualities, gave them a seat in their public councils, and followed their standard to battle. These fierce barbarians in the course of their ravages in the

Roman empire, when they involved the monuments of ancient art in destruction, and pursued their enemies in arms with the most bloody severity, always forebore to offer violence to women. They introduced into the west of Europe the respectful gallantry of the north; and this benevolence of sentiment was cherished and matured by the institution of chivalry.* Woman, instead of having only a retired place in society, was brought forward into the most conspicuous point of view; she became the umpire of valour, the arbitress of victory, and at once the incentive and the reward of courageous actions. Naturally elated at beholding the power of her charms, she became worthy of the heroism which she inspired, improved in the dignity of her character, and formed her sentiments upon the pure principles of honour. The distinguished prowess of the knight was counterbalanced by the strict and spotless chastity of the lady, and these virtues long continued to countenance and to reward each other: they were encouraged by the modes, the habits, and the circumstances of the times, and found ample room for growth and expansion in the baronial states.

Thus it appears that in the institution of chivalry were blended valour, humanity, justice, honour, courtesy, and gallantry. Their combined effects were soon visible upon the manners of a martial age. The horrors of war were softened when humanity began to be esteemed the ornament of knighthood. More condescension and more affability were introduced, when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues. A rigid adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of every gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour. It is the remark of the excellent historian to whose works I confess myself under singular obligations in pursuing this and similar inquiries, "that, perhaps, the *humanity* which accompanies all the operations of war, the *refinements of gallantry*, and the *point of honour*, the three chief circumstances, which distinguish modern from ancient manners, may be attributed in a great measure to this whimsical institution." Robertson's Charles V, vol. i, p. 85.

The classical reader cannot fail to be struck with the coincidence in the political state of ancient Greece, as described by Homer, and the condition of the feudal times. The military ardour of the heroes is similar to that of the barons.

* Robertson's Charles V, vol. i, p 82, &c. Modern Europe, vol. ii, p. 208, &c.

What are the Grecian Bacchus, Hercules, and Jason, wandering over various parts of the world in search of adventures, and conquering giants and monsters, but knights-errant, and the exact counterparts of Sir Launcelot, and Amadis de Gaul, and the Seven Champions of Christendom? Courage, generosity, courtesy and hospitality, were the virtues common to them all.

The dispositions and sentiments which chivalry produced were so deeply rooted that they continued to predominate long after its spirit had evaporated, and the institution had become an object of neglect and ridicule. Generosity and a love of enterprize, the qualities to which it owed its birth, when once directed to objects that interested the affections, were not likely to be short in their duration, or partial in their effects. The refined assiduities of men naturally directed the attention of women to themselves, as well as to their admirers; and this circumstance produced a gradual improvement in female education. The men, quitting the formality of the feudal times, and the hyperbolical style of making love, of which many curious instances may be found in the old romances, became less artificial in their compliments, and softer in their manners. Women became sensible of the importance of improving their minds, and of heightening the charms of nature with elegant accomplishments, and the graces of affability and complaisance.

Thus has a great change of manners been effected, by following up a leading principle of the institution of chivalry, and giving a conspicuous place to the female sex in the ranks of society. The passion of love, purified by delicacy, has been heightened by the pleasures of sentiment and imagination; the sphere of conversation has been enlarged and meliorated; it has gained more propriety, more vivacity, more wit, and more variety; social intercourse has been divested of formality, and is regulated by the laws of true politeness. It has opened new sources of satisfaction to the understanding, and afforded new delights to the heart. The merit of the sexes has been raised, they have become better entitled to the esteem of each other; the characters both of men and women have been marked by more amiable qualities, and the stock of refined pleasures and social happiness has been very considerably increased.

IV. The Reformation of Religion.

There is perhaps no occurrence recorded in the annals of mankind, since the first publication of Christianity, which

has had so considerable an influence in vindicating the rights of conscience, in liberating the powers of the mind from the tyranny of superstition, and in the promotion of general knowledge, as the reformation of religion in the sixteenth century. Previous to this auspicious event all Europe bowed beneath the yoke of the Church of Rome, and trembled at the name of her sovereigns. The laws which were issued from the Vatican held emperors, kings, and all their subjects, in the chains of obedience, or rather of slavery; and to resist their authority, or to examine their reasonableness, required a vigour of understanding, and an energy of character, of which for many ages few examples were to be found. Waldus in the twelfth century, Wickliff in the fourteenth, and Huss in the fifteenth, had inveighed against the errors of Popery with great boldness, and exposed them with great ingenuity: but their attempts to instruct the minds of the ignorant and illiterate were premature and ineffectual. Such feeble lights, incapable of dispelling the thick darkness, which enveloped the Church, were soon extinguished: at length, however, it was the gracious act of Providence to raise up MARTIN LUTHER, as the chosen instrument of its auspicious designs. See Interpreter of Prophecy, vol. ii, p. 41, 4th ed.

This great Reformer was born of poor parents at Eisleben in Saxony.* He received a learned education, and in his youth discovered great acuteness and vigour of understanding. He first devoted himself to a monastic life in a convent of Augustinian friars, and afterward was appointed by Frederic, elector of Saxony, professor of philosophy and theology in the new university of Wittemberg. Having found a copy of the Bible, which had long been neglected, in the library of his convent, he abandoned all other pursuits, and devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures. The pure light of revelation beamed upon his mind; he saw that christianity was not to be learned from the writings of the schoolmen, or the decrees of general councils, but from the authority of the sacred writings alone. An opportunity was soon afforded him of showing his zeal for truth, and his ardour for its propagation. The Dominican monks were at that time employed by pope Leo X to sell indulgencies for all offences and crimes, for the purpose of recruiting his exhausted treasury. Luther, with great boldness of manner,

* Born 1483. His opinions widely diffused in 1518. Died 1546, aged 63 years.

and strength of argument, preached against the irregularity of their lives, and the vicious tendency of their doctrines; and he represented to the people the extreme danger of relying for salvation on any other means than those appointed by the word of God. The more he examined the claims of the Church of Rome to its empire over the reason and conscience of mankind, the more he ascertained their weakness. The discovery of one error naturally led him to the detection of others; and from refuting the extravagant tenets concerning indulgences, he proceeded to expose such as were maintained respecting pilgrimages and penances, the intercession and the worship of saints, the abuses of auricular confession, the existence of purgatory, and many other doctrines of the same kind, which have no foundation in Scripture. His arguments made a deep impression upon his hearers, and his fame was soon spread not only through Germany, but various other parts of Europe.

At the same time that by his sermons he was diffusing the principles of the reformation, and his writings contributed materially to the same purpose, nothing proved more fatal to the interests of the Church of Rome, or more subversive of its opinions, than his translation of the Bible into the German language. The copies of it were rapidly dispersed, and perused with the greatest avidity by persons of all ranks. They were astonished at discovering how contrary the precepts of the great Author of their religion were to the comments and the inventions of those who had so long pretended to be the faithful interpreters of his word. Having now in their own hands the genuine rule of faith, they thought themselves qualified to judge of the established opinions, and to pronounce whether they were conformable to the standard of Scripture, or deviated from it. The great advantages which resulted from this celebrated translation of the Bible encouraged the advocates for the reformation in other countries to follow this example: and by publishing versions in their respective languages they materially promoted the general cause.*

Luther has been accused by the catholic writers of excessive love of wine, and of the amusements of the field. He indeed much shocked their prejudices by marrying a nun. His followers, however, inform us that he was a man of the

* Robertson's Charles V. vol. ii, p. 113, &c. History of Modern Europe, vol. ii, p. 194, &c. Gilpin's Lives of the Reformers. Burnet's History of the Reformation.

strictest temperance, that he drank nothing but water, and that he would occasionally fast two or three days together, and then eat a herring and some bread.*

He had the satisfaction to receive the most important assistance from men of learning and abilities. Melancthon, famed for his genius, learning, moderation, and piety, was the author of the confession of Augsburg presented by the Protestants to the emperor Charles V. at the diet held in that place. Bucer introduced the doctrines of Luther into the imperial cities upon the Rhine; and Olaus disseminated them with equal zeal in Sweden, his native country. Zuinglius and Calvin, men not inferior to the great Reformer himself in zeal and intrepidity, were active in Switzerland. However they disagreed in their doctrines, and whatever errors marked some of their opinions, they co-operated with the most perfect harmony in the promotion of this great and perilous design. The opposition made by the see of Rome to the divorce of Henry VIII. from his queen Catherine, hastened the introduction of the reformed opinions into England. The acute and learned Erasmus was far from being an inconsiderable coadjutor to Luther. His numerous works prepared the way for the reception of the new doctrines. He confuted many of the Romish errors with great weight of argument and force of eloquence. In his satirical writings, likewise, he held up to derision the frauds practised by the monks to impose upon the credulity of the people; and there was scarcely any error, which Luther endeavoured to reform, which had not been treated by Erasmus, either with censure or raillery.†

The character of Luther was such as exactly qualified him for a reformer, at the particular period when he stood forth as the champion of the Protestant faith. His abilities were of the first order, strong by nature, and improved by study. His sanctity of life was conformable to the pure doctrines which he taught. His diligence in detecting the errors of his opponents, and in propagating his own opinions, was ever active and indefatigable. He had an ardour of temper which sometimes broke out into vehemence and impetuosity; the effect of his courage and zeal in the cause of truth. Erasmus said of Luther that God had bestowed upon mankind so violent a physician, in consequence

* Seward's Anecdotes, v. i, p. 82, &c. See other anecdotes of him by the pleasing collector, vol. 3, p. 112.

† See an excellent account of this accomplished scholar and refined satirist, in Warton on the Genius of Pope, vol. i, p. 187.

of the magnitude of their diseases. From every instance of opposition his undaunted spirit derived fresh energy: he readily obeyed the summons of the sovereign Pontiff, and stood unmoved before his legate, prepared as he was, not to retract, but to justify his opinions. He afterwards in the presence of numerous spectators burnt the bull of excommunication, which had been issued against him. Conscious of the rectitude of his motives he was bold to assert and prompt to execute his designs. In his controversies he was regardless of the rank or quality of his opponents, and treated Henry VIII. with the same opprobrious language, which he used to Tetzel, or Eccius, the ignoble advocates for the see of Rome. Had he been less harsh and severe in his censures, and less vehement in his invectives, he would not have suited the rude manners of the times. Had he addressed his countrymen in a voice of less authority and boldness he would not have awakened them from the lethargy of superstition, in which they were entranced: and if he had been less confident in his own talents, and the goodness of his cause, he would not have spread his opinions with such rapidity, and carried them to such an extent. Unaided by power, and unassisted by force of arms, he shook the throne of the Popes, and subverted a great part of the vast fabric of their ecclesiastical dominion, which had been raised with consummate art, and whose foundations were deeply laid. This difficult task he accomplished by turning the current of public opinion against it. He imparted to mankind the light of reason and revelation, and enabled them to discern the errors, the frauds, and the usurpations of the see of Rome; and he taught them to vindicate the rights of reason, conscience, and the Gospel. He had the satisfaction to live to see whole provinces and kingdoms adopt his opinions with the highest respect, and subscribe to his decisions with the most implicit deference. He was listened to with that fixed and steady attention, which truth, when accompanied by novelty, is always sure to command. And by an extraordinary instance of divine favour, particularly signal, if we consider the ferocious manners of his contemporaries, and the intolerant spirit of his enemies, he had the happiness to end his life with composure and peace, in his native city, in the midst of his own family. For the invaluable benefits conferred by the great Reformer upon his own age, and upon all posterity, he stands distinguished among the benefactors of the human race, and is entitled to the praise, gratitude, and veneration of mankind.

V. The Revival of Classical Learning.

Alfred the Great of England, and Charlemagne Emperor of Germany, flourished in the ninth century. The earliest luminaries of the modern world shed a strong and vivid lustre over the age in which they lived. They encouraged learning both by their example and patronage; but their endeavours were not sufficiently effectual to overcome the gross ignorance of their times. The schools which they erected were confined to churches and monasteries; and the contracted notions of the monks who presided over them, partly arising from their recluse modes of life, and partly from their religious prejudices, rendered them wholly inadequate to the task of diffusing knowledge in any extensive circle. The reign of barbarism and ignorance continued, with little intermission, till the learning which the Arabians had introduced into Spain, began to spread through the rest of Europe. This learning consisted in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, chemistry, and medicine, and the philosophy of Aristotle, in its fullest extent. (See Warton on Pope, vol. i, p. 184.) Several enlightened scholars, who had studied under the Arabians, undertook, at the beginning of the eleventh century, the education of youth, particularly in the cities of Italy, and afterwards in those of France, England, and Germany. To the prevalence and permanency of these branches of knowledge the establishment of the universities of Europe, so general in the thirteenth century, was eminently conducive. Some indeed were founded rather earlier; and Paris and Oxford carry their pretensions to antiquity as high as the reigns of Charlemagne and Alfred: but the real claims of Paris are dated from the time of Philip Augustus, who flourished in the twelfth century. And it would be too heavy a task, even inclined as I may be to support the high antiquity of my own University, if I were required to trace any literary institution for the *regular* maintenance of students upon a *collegiate* plan, to a remoter period than the reign of Edward the first. Merton college was then founded by Walter de Merton, Lord Chancellor of England, and bishop of Rochester, in the year 1264. Upon a careful examination of the pretensions of the first great seminaries of education, the honoured title of Mother of the universities of Europe seems to be due to Bologna. It was within her walls, during the tumults and disorders of the eleventh century, that learning first attempted to raise

her head. In the succeeding age the almost incredible number of 10,000 students was assembled there, and each country in Europe had its resident regents and professors. The studies of the civil and canon law constituted the favourite and almost the exclusive objects of application. Paris directed the attention of her scholars to theology, and nearly with an equal degree of reputation. Oxford began at this time to acquire celebrity, and to rival or rather to surpass the foreign universities in the ability of its professors, and the concourse of its members; for in the year 1340 they amounted, according to the account of the historian Speed, to not less than 30,000. Many other universities were not long after founded, particularly in Italy and France, and were all modelled upon the same plan as Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, with respect to their institutions and studies.

In these seminaries of learning logic and scholastic divinity were for ages the reigning subjects of pursuit. The works of Aristotle were perused with the greatest avidity; and the disquisitions of the commentators upon his Dialectics were so favourably received that their authors almost totally eclipsed the fame of their great master himself. The syllogistic mode of reasoning was applied to every topic, without discrimination, as the best instrument in the hands of a subtle disputant to frame the most specious arguments, and to perplex the plainest truths.

The public schools in the universities were the theatres in which the students acquired and displayed their attainments, as they were filled with a great concourse of auditors, who daily assembled to listen to the clamorous debates of the several disputants.

Upon the logic of Aristotle was founded the cultivation of scholastic theology and casuistry. To make nice and metaphysical distinctions between one word and another, to separate subjects by infinite divisions, not as the real nature of things, but as fancy suggested, and to draw conclusions which had no moral end whatever, where the incessant pursuits of the schoolmen. The skill, industry, and productions of the spider may serve to illustrate the texture and the flimsiness of their literary labours. The names of Lanfranc, Abelard, Petrus Lombardus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus, are the most eminent among these celebrated disputants. And while an attachment to the ceremonial and ritual observances of the Church of Rome, and the most implicit subserviency to its edicts, and the decrees of its councils, usurped the place of obedience to pure and prac-

tical Christianity; the bulky volumes of these schoolmen filled every library, and exercised the understanding of every student. And these were the speculations which, however dry in point of style, and unimproving in point of matter, as they were patronized by the dignitaries of the church, and pursued by men of strong and vigorous minds, engrossed for centuries the whole attention of universities, interested courts, and were celebrated in every part of Europe.

In the mean time classical learning was entirely neglected; it was considered as dangerous to true piety, and calculated only to corrupt the pure theology of the Gospel. The poets and orators of Greece and Rome were regarded as the blind guides of erring reason, and as seducers to the paths of sin and destruction. Virgil and Horace were looked upon merely as the advocates for a profane and idolatrous mythology; and Cicero was regarded as a vain declaimer, impiously elated with the talent of Pagan eloquence. Whenever the minds of the monks were exercised in any literary compositions, to record the marvellous exploits of saints and martyrs, to compose unedifying homilies, and to make frivolous commentaries on Scripture, were the chief and favourite objects of their attention; and that such were their occupations the voluminous manuscripts which form the original parts of most of the oldest libraries in Europe, can abundantly testify.

We discover the first dawnings of modern literature in the cultivation of the language of Provence, and the rude productions of the Troubadours. The first of this order, whose name stands recorded, was William Count of Poitou, a nobleman, who distinguished himself by his prowess in the crusades. Many of the men of rank, who embarked in the first expedition to the Holy Land, were of that number. Their romances, composed upon the striking subjects of gallantry, war, satire, and history, first awakened Europe from its ignorance and lethargy, amused the mind of men with grotesque and lively images and descriptions, and first taught them to think, reflect, and judge upon subjects of imagination. The Trobadours occupied the middle place between Gothic ignorance and Italian excellence; and after this period literature is indebted to them for raising the earliest fruits of European genius, and inspiring the moderns with a love of poetry. Their reputation and their language extended far and wide; and every country upon the continent of Europe could boast its itinerant bards. In the courts

of kings, and the castles of barons, they were always hailed as the most welcome guests; and their exertions to please and to instruct were repaid by splendid rewards. The commencement of the crusades, and the close of the fourteenth century, mark the limits of their celebrity. The Romance which has its rise in the manners of chivalry, fell into disrepute as soon as that institution began to decline.

In the fourteenth century men of genius arose in Italy, who resolved to cultivate their native tongue, and to combine with its elegance the charms of imagination, and the acquirements of classical learning. The poetry of the Tuscan school burst forth with a splendour and lustre, which have ever been surveyed with delight and admiration; and the works of Dante, Ariosto, Bocaccio, and Petrarch, although the productions of an age so unpolished, have never yet been excelled by four succeeding centuries of the best efforts of genius and learning.

After the philosophy of Aristotle and the commentaries of the schoolmen had contributed for a considerable period to give a wrong direction to the faculties of the mind, and to occupy the time and attention of the scholars; a series of events occurred in the fifteenth century, which turned the minds of ingenious men to new researches, opened the way to the revival of classical learning, and the improvement of all the arts and sciences connected with its cultivation.

The subversion of the Roman Empire in the East, and the discovery of the art of printing, happened nearly at the same period of time. Learned men had long trembled at the approach, and at length fled before the fierce aspect of Mahomet the second. After Constantinople was taken by the Turks in the year 1453, Chrysoloras, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Johannes Andronicus, Callistus Constantius, Johannes Lascaris, Gaza of Thessalonica, and many other learned Greeks, whose names must ever be recorded with honour in the annals of literature, fled into Italy for shelter and protection. That country, in consequence of having always preserved a greater degree of refinement and knowledge than the rest of Europe, was happily calculated for their favourable reception. They found in particular at Florence several Greek professors, who had been induced, by the liberality of Cosmo de Medici, a great patron of learning, to settle in that city. Into Italy they conveyed, and there they interpreted, the inestimable works of their ancient writers, which had been preserved in the metropolis of the East. They were eagerly followed by the best Italian

scholars, who quickly imbibed a taste for the graces of genuine poetry, eloquence, and history. A more useful and sublime philosophy was soon adopted; and the scholastic subtleties of logic, and the empty speculations of metaphysics, were gradually superseded by the useful principles of moral philosophy, the maxims of sound criticism, and the acquisitions of elegant learning.

The patronage of the Popes gave splendour and importance to this new kind of erudition. Considering its encouragement as an excellent expedient to establish their authority, such was their liberality to scholars, that the court of Rome on a sudden changed its austere character, and became the seat of elegance and urbanity. Nicholas the fifth, about the year 1440, offered public rewards at Rome for compositions in the learned languages, appointed professors in the Belles Lettres, and employed intelligent persons to traverse all parts of Europe in search of the classic manuscripts, which were concealed in the libraries of monasteries.

> But see each Muse in Leo's golden days
> Starts from her trance, and trims her withered bays;
> Rome's ancient Genius, o'er its ruins spread,
> Shakes off the dust, and rears his reverend head.
> Pope's Essay on Criticism.

Leo the tenth was conspicuous for his ardour and munificence in the cause of literature: it is very remarkable, that while he was pouring the thunder of his anathemas against the new doctrines of Luther, he published a bull of excommunication against all those who should dare to censure the poems of Ariosto. And it was during his pontificate that a perpetual indulgence was granted for rebuilding the church of a monastery, because it possessed a manuscript of Tacitus. In the exercise of these new studies the Italian ecclesiastics were the first and the most numerous. Countenanced by the authority of the sovereign pontiff, they abandoned the intricacies of a dry and barbarous theology, and studied the purest models of antiquity.

No sooner had Italy, under these auspices, banished the Gothic style in eloquence and poetry, than painting, sculpture, and architecture arrived at maturity, and shone in all their original splendour. The beautiful and sublime ideas which the Italian artists had conceived from the contemplation of ancient statues and temples, were invigorated by the descriptions of Homer and Sophocles. Petrarch was

crowned at Rome in the capitol, and Raphael was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal.

These improvements were soon received in other countries, and spread their influence over France, England, Spain, and Hungary. The Greek tongue was introduced into England by William Grocyn: he was a fellow of New College, Oxford, and died about the year 1520. To Germany must be allowed a very large and distinguished share in the restitution of letters. And the mechanical genius of Holland added, at an auspicious moment to all the fortunate events in favour of science, an admirable invention; for to that country the world was indebted for the discovery of the art of PRINTING. The honour of having given rise to this art has been claimed by the cities of Haerlem, Mentz, and Strasburgh. To each of these it may be attributed in a qualified sense, as within a short space of time they respectively contributed to its advancement. But the original inventor was Laurentius John Coster of Haerlem, who made his first essay with wooden types about the year 1430. The art was communicated by his servant to John Faust and John Guttemburg of Mentz. It was carried to perfection by Peter Shoeffer, the son-in-law of Faustus, who invented the modes of casting metal types, and was probably the first who used them in printing.* The most popular of those very ingenious mechanics was Faust, who is reported to have carried a number of his Bibles to Paris; and when he offered them to sale as manuscripts, the French, considering the number of the books, and their exact resemblance to each other, without the variation even of a letter or a stop, and that the best transcribers could not possibly be so exact in their most accurate copies, concluded he must have derived assistance from some supernatural agent. Either by actually prosecuting him as a magician, or threatening to do so, they extorted from him the curious secret of his new

* Trithemius, in his Chronicle, written A. D. 1514, says he had it from the mouth of Peter Schoeffer, that the first book they printed with moveable types was the Bible, about the year 1450, in which the expenses were so enormous as to have cost 4000 florins before they had printed 12 sheets. The author of a MS. Chronicle of Cologne, compiled in 1499, also says, that he was told by Ulric Zell of Cologne (who himself introduced printing there in 1466) that the Latin Bible was first begun to be printed in the year of Jubilee 1450, and that it was in large character. *Scripturâ grandiori quali hodie missalia solent imprimi.* Mr. Edwards of Pall Mall possessed a copy of this curious Bible, 3 vol. bound in Morocco. In his catalogue it was valued at 126*l.* There is a beautiful copy of this work, 2 vol. fol. in the Bodleian library.

invention; and it is probable that from this circumstance arose the marvellous stories which are related of Dr. Faustus.

The art of printing was soon spread throughout a great part of Europe. It passed to Rome in 1466, and the Roman type was in a short time brought to great perfection. Thomas Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry VI. sent Caxton, a person remarkable in that age for cultivating learning amid the occupations of commerce, to Haerlem, to gain a knowledge of this invention; and "the first book which Caxton printed was an English translation of Recuyel, or the History of Troy, in 1471, in Flanders. The first book known to have been printed in England by him was a translation from the French *of the Game of Chess*, 1474, with fusil metal types. For though Frederick Corselli, a Dutchman or German, is said to have printed at Oxford in 1468, *Sancti Hieronymi Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum*, it has been doubted whether there ever was a printer of that name in England; and if there was, his book was printed with separate *wooden types*." See the Norfolk Tour, p. 120. At the close of the sixteenth century various editions of books in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Coptic characters, were published. This admirable discovery was made at a period the most favourable to its reception and improvement. Not only a taste for polite learning began, as we have before remarked, to be fashionable in the fifteenth century, but many persons of the first rank in several parts of Europe, and particularly in Italy, distinguished themselves by their love of letters, and their patronage of eminent scholars. Many public libraries were about this time erected in the great cities of Europe, and were furnished with manuscripts of ancient authors, purchased at a great expense; but from the care with which they were guarded, their perusal was confined to a small number of readers. No invention therefore could be more fortunate, or more likely to gratify the general curiosity, than that by which copies of the same work were easily and expeditiously multiplied, sold at a reasonable rate, and circulated throughout every part of the civilized world.

This art would have been comparatively of small value a century or two before, when the grossest ignorance prevailed, and even persons of high birth and distinction were extremely illiterate, and of course not disposed to give encouragement to the revival of learning. On the contrary, the

people of the fifteenth century were highly gratified by the discovery of an art so congenial to their taste, and therefore stimulated the ingenuity of its inventors to carry it to a high degree of perfection. Of this encouragement and improvement sufficient proofs are now extant; for many of the books which were printed at this early period may be compared, with respect to the blackness of the ink, the elegance of the type, and the excellence of the paper, to most of the copies which are at this time the boast of the English or foreign presses.

Thus, as books were multiplied, a taste for learning became more general. And it is very remarkable that the reformation of religion, and the revival of classical learning, were reciprocally advantageous; they reflected mutual light, and afforded mutual assistance. The ecclesiastics, when books were placed within the common reach, could no longer confine the languages or the writers of antiquity to themselves; and men were eager to acquire that knowledge which had been so long concealed. They imagined the mines of antiquity to be very rich; and they were not disappointed; for as soon as they were enabled to explore their treasures, they found them answer their most sanguine expectations. Warton's English Poetry, vol. iii, p. 491. vol. ii, p. 54, &c.

As the dawn of the Reformation in England was obscured by the bigotry of the sanguinary Mary, so were there few circumstances in her fanatical reign propitious to the growth of polite erudition. It is however a pleasing circumstance to be able to select an event from the calamitous history of her times, which happily concurred with some preceding establishments to diffuse classical knowledge, and which does honour to the founder of a *Society*, which among the statesmen, poets, and scholars, enrolled in its lists, records the names of SOMERS, CHATHAM, MERRICK, WARTON, BENWELL, and BOWLES. In the year 1554, Trinity College in Oxford was founded by Sir Thomas Pope; who in the constitution of this Society principally inculcates the use and necessity of classical literature; and recommends it as the most important and leading object in his system of academical study. Queen Mary was herself eminently learned: at the desire of Queen Catherine Parr she translated in her youth Erasmus's Paraphrase on St. John; the preface is written by Udall, master of Eton school; in which he much extols her distinguished proficience in literature. It would have been fortunate if Mary's attention to this work had softened her temper, and enlightened her understanding. She

frequently spoke in public with propriety, and always with prudence and dignity. Warton's English Poetry, vol. iii.

In the subsequent reign of Elizabeth an accurate acquaintance with the phrases, and all the peculiarities of the ancient poets, historians, and orators, was made an indispensable and almost the principal object in the education, not only of a gentleman, but even of a lady. Among the females of high distinction, who aspired to the reputation of classical scholars, the Queen herself, and the beautiful and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, were the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, their learned preceptor, speaks in raptures of the progress which they both made in the Greek and Latin authors, and relates some pleasing anecdotes of their application to this study.* This pedantic fashion appeared in many ludicrous extravagancies. It was conspicuous in various publications, in the shows and pageants exhibited during the progress of the Queen through different parts of her dominions, and in the entertainments held in her honour, wherein emblems allusive to classical mythology were constantly introduced.

But the pedantry which gave so deep a tinge to the fashion of those times had little effect upon the productions of Shakspeare. Raised by the power of original and daring genius he bent the information of former ages to his own purposes. His works, like those of Milton, were for a time neglected: but since the close of the seventeenth century they have been held in the highest estimation, and have contributed, perhaps more than any others of our national compositions, to diffuse a relish for books. That relish was first excited by the numerous translations of the Greek and Roman authors, and of Italian tales into English, in the reign of Elizabeth. The works of the writers who flourished in the time of Queen Anne, particularly Addison, Swift, and Dryden, divested learning of its stiffness, revived a just taste for the classics, and had great influence in making the perusal of books a popular amusement. Since that period we may fairly be called a nation of readers. Books of all kinds have been produced, and the *press* has supplied the means of multiplying them to a degree which exceeds the power of calculation. Let us consider what the press has effected, and what it may still produce for the advantage, the instruction, and delight of mankind. Its benefits are as extensive as they are various; it is of the highest importance to mankind. It is the safeguard of liberty in every free country. It is the ally of

* Ascham. Epist. lib. ii, p. 18, Edit. 1581, &c. Warton's Life of Pope, p. 93, &c.

religion, when it supplies the world with the productions of the learned and pious; who labour to disseminate the precepts of genuine christianity. It furnishes the means of rational improvement, and amusement in the hours of sickness and leisure, communicates instruction to the young, and entertainment to the old, and spreads these enjoyments far and wide before every people of the globe. We have therefore sufficient reason to congratulate ourselves on being born at a time, in which we are rescued from the gross ignorance which enveloped our ancestors; when the light of pure religion and useful knowledge is diffused around us; and when, provided that our moral improvements keep pace, in a due degree, with our intellectual proficiency, we may be virtuous, as well as enlightened and intelligent, beyond the example of former ages.

Conclusion.

Such are some of the most striking points upon which the student will fix his eye, in his wide and pleasing survey of modern history. There are many others which are entitled to his observation; and he cannot fail to notice with particular regard the æra marked by the invention of the mariner's compass, and all the consequent improvements in navigation. From that period the sailor became more confident and more adventurous: he scorned to coast along the shore, and boldly steered his vessel into the wide and open ocean. He discovered new islands, and even new continents, established a free intercourse with the most remote quarters of the globe, imparted to distant nations the advantages of commerce, and pointed out to the Europeans a boundless scope for the plantation of colonies in Asia, Africa, and America.

In tracing the progress of navigation from the confined limits of the Mediterranean and the Baltic shores, to its present extent in the northern and southern hemispheres, we observe upon the map of the globe the tracks of those renowned navigators, Christopher Columbus, Vasco de Gama, and Sebastian Cabot; and we follow with a more lively curiosity, and national pride, the courses of Drake, Raleigh, Anson, Byron, Carteret, and Cooke.

The discovery of gunpowder is remarkable, as its introduction into the military art has changed the mode of waging war, and lessened its destructive ravages. The invention of the telescope was an important acquisition to science, as it has served to verify the theories, and establish the reasonings

of modern astronomers, and thus gives them a decided advantage over those, who in ancient times cultivated the same science. The invention likewise of the air-pump by Boyle, the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Harvey, the establishment of the Copernican system, the experiment of Torricelli, by which he ascertained the weight of the atmosphere, and the numerous improvements in various arts and sciences, contribute to do honour to modern times. They compose such an assemblage of luminous objects as cannot fail to attract for all ages the curiosity and admiration of mankind.

These pleasing branches of study may lead us to form a just estimate of political affairs, and of the subjects which tend to the moral improvement of the mind. Modern history affords many examples of the prowess of conquerors who have desolated the world, and of hypocrites who have deceived it. And yet we may fairly ask, of what benefit to society were the impostures of Mahomet, the victories of Clovis, Charlemagne, Gengis Khan, and Tamerlane; the invasion of William the Conqueror, the political cunning of Charles the fifth, the ambition of Philip the second, and the intriguing spirit of Richelieu and Mazarine? Their empires, triumphs, conquests, and projects, have left little impression behind them, notwithstanding the attention they once attracted, and the violent convulsions which they caused in the state of the world. The mind is refreshed, and turns with delight to more pacific scenes, to trace the discoveries of Columbus and Vasco de Gama, and the beneficial change in religious opinions, which Luther and Calvin produced. We consider with more satisfaction than the recital of battles and sieges can afford, the mild and benevolent spirit of colonization, which actuated the exertions of William Penn; the sublime philosophy of Bacon, Newton, and Locke; and the matchless poetry of Shakspeare, Milton, and Tasso. These have a more beneficial influence in enlarging our knowledge, and satisfying our curiosity, than the most intimate acquaintance with the conquests of the ambitious, and the machinations of the politic. The works of war and heroism are too often destructive in their operations, and disastrous in their consequences; and the closer they are examined, the more they wound our feelings, by the calamities they have produced. They may furnish indeed very instructive lessons of caution, if the rulers of mankind imitate the conduct of prudent mariners, who remark the situation of rocks and shoals, only from a design to avoid them. How

much fairer and more inviting is the prospect of the works of genius, science, arts, and commerce! They charm our attention the longer they are surveyed; and the more intimately we are acquainted with them, the greater is our pleasure, as well as our improvement.

Thus have we seen that the arts and sciences have kept pace with the progress of manners and religion, in adorning and exalting the human mind; and thus has their united light dispelled the shades of ignorance and barbarism. The intellectual powers, after ages of depression, have surmounted all obstacles, and operated through every channel of knowledge; and perhaps it is not arrogating too much superiority to assert, that the glory even of ancient Greece and Rome has been surpassed by the talents and diligence of modern Europeans, in the cultivation of whatever can instruct and improve society.

This interesting part of history displays to us a variety of discoveries, events, improvements, and institutions, which have contributed, in their aggregate effects, to *raise the character of man above its former level*, to encourage industry, and diversify its pursuits; to call forth the powers of the mind to every *laudable exertion*, to cherish *all the virtues* of the heart, and make human existence *more valuable*, by INCREASING THE GENERAL STOCK OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT, AND PROMOTING SOCIAL ORDER, COMFORT AND HAPPINESS.

END OF VOLUME I.

ELEMENTS

OF

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE,

INTRODUCTORY TO

USEFUL BOOKS IN THE PRINCIPAL BRANCHES

OF

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

DESIGNED CHIEFLY FOR THE JUNIOR STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITIES, AND THE HIGHER CLASSES IN SCHOOLS.

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TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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CLASS THE THIRD.

CONTINUED.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

THE advantages, which result from an acquaintance with the history of our own country, are too obvious to require many previous observations. Such knowledge is of the greatest importance to all those who take an active part in the public service, either as officers of the army or navy, magistrates, or members of parliament. And to persons of all other descriptions it is equally agreeable, if not equally necessary; because, as every Englishman finds a peculiar gratification in deciding upon the propriety of political measures, and estimating the merits of those who direct the helm of government; he cannot form correct opinions, by adverting to the plans which have for ages been pursued, as conducive to the best interests of the nation, or by contemplating the causes of national disgrace or glory, if he neglects to lay the foundation, upon which such correct opinions can alone be built.

The love of our country naturally awakens in us a spirit of curiosity to inquire into the conduct of our ancestors, and to learn the memorable events of their history: and this is certainly a far more urgent motive than any which usually prompts us to the pursuit of other historical researches. Nothing that happened to our forefathers can be a matter of indifference to us. It is natural to indulge the mixed emotions of veneration and esteem for them; and our regard is not founded upon blind partiality, but results from the most steady and rational attachment. We are their descendants, we reap the fruits of their public and private labours, and we not only share the inheritance of their property, but derive reputation from their noble actions. A

Russian or a Turk may have a strong predilection for his country, and entertain a profound veneration for his ancestors: but, destitute as he finds himself of an equal share of the blessings which result from security, liberty, and impartial laws, he can never feel the same generous and pure patriotism, which glows in the breast of a Briton.

If an Englishman, said the great Frederic of Prussia, has no knowledge of those kings that filled the throne of Persia; if his memory is embarrassed with that infinite number of popes that ruled the church, we are ready to excuse him: but we shall hardly have the same indulgence for him, if he is a stranger to the origin of parliaments, to the customs of his country, and to the different lines of kings who have reigned in England—Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.

In the eventful pages of her history England presents some of the most interesting scenes that the annals of the world can produce. In this country liberty has maintained frequent and bloody conflicts with despotism; sometimes she has sunk oppressed under the chains of tyrants, and sometimes reared her head in triumph. Here Charles the first, brought, in defiance of all justice, to the scaffold, and James the second compelled by the voice of his injured people to abdicate his throne, have given awful lessons to the sovereigns of the world. Here kings and subjects, after engaging in the warmest opposition of interests, have made mutual concessions; and the prerogative of the one, and the privileges of the other, have been fixed upon the solid basis of the general good. In the midst of civil commotions, as well as in the intervals of tranquillity, Science, Genius, and Arts have flourished, and advanced the national character above that of the neighbouring states. For this is the country of men deservedly renowned for their talents, learning, and discoveries in the various branches of art and science; to whom future generations will bow with respect and veneration, as to their guides and instructors. In this island Shakspeare and Milton displayed their vast powers of original genius, Locke developed the faculties of the mind, and Newton explained and illustrated the laws of nature. Here were trained those adventurous navigators, who have conveyed the British flag to the extremities of the globe, added new dominions to their native land, extended the range of nautical science, and spread the blessings of civilization among the most remote people. Here mankind at large may contemplate a CONSTITUTION, which is propitious to the highest advancement of the moral and intellec-

tual powers of man, which ensures personal safety, maintains personal dignity, and combines the public and private advantages of all other governments.*

This constitution, which has so powerful and so happy an influence upon the character, sentiments, and prosperity of the British nation, arose from the conflict of discordant interests, and was meliorated by the wisdom of the most sagacious and enlightened legislators.

Reserving a more exact inquiry into the regular train of events for future studies, let us at present confine our attention to a short view of those memorable reigns, during which the *principles* of the present constitution were developed, and those *laws* were enacted which form its support.

From the vast and gloomy forests of Germany, Hengist and Horsa, attended by their warlike followers, brought into Britain new arts of war, and new institutions of civil policy. A. D. 450. From the obvious tendency of the Saxon institutions to establish public order and private comfort, they found a welcome reception among such Britons as were timid and docile; while those who were of a ferocious temper, and spurned the tyranny of foreign power, fled to the inaccessible mountains of Wales, and there enjoyed their original independence.

As far as we are able to discern the imperfect traces of Saxon customs and establishments, by the dim light of Roman and English history, we are struck with their mildness, equity, and wisdom. The descent of the crown was hereditary, the subordinate magistrates were elected by the people, capital punishments were rarely inflicted for the first offence, and their lands were bequeathed equally to all the sons, without any regard to primogeniture. In the *Wittena Gemote*, or assembly of the Wise men, consisting of the superior Clergy and Noblemen, all business for the service of the public was transacted, and all laws were passed. For the origin of this assembly, we must have recourse to remote antiquity; as similar meetings, constituted, indeed, in

* By the Constitution is to be understood, "that collection of laws, establishments, and customs, derived from certain principles of expediency and justice, and directed to certain objects of public utility, according to which the majority of the British people have agreed to be governed." Or, according to a more popular mode of definition, it is "the legislative and executive government of Great Britain, consisting of the King, the House of Peers, and the House of Commons, as established at the Revolution, and as their privileges have been explained by subsequent acts of parliament."

a rude and imperfect manner, were convened among the ancient Germans from the earliest times.*

ALFRED, surnamed the Great, derived that illustrious title from the exercise of every quality, which adorned the scholar, the warrior, the patriot, and the legislator. After chasing the Danish plunderers from his shores, he directed his attention to the internal regulation of his kingdom. A. D. 872. He digested the discordant laws of the heptarchy into one consistent code, adopted a uniform plan of government, and made every one of his subjects, without regard to rank or fortune, responsible to his immediate superior for his own conduct, and that of his neighbour. For the speedy decision of all civil and criminal causes, he established courts of justice in the various districts, in which complaints arose. Of all his institutions, the most remarkable and the most celebrated was the *Trial by Jury*. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon him for exempting his accused subjects from the arbitrary sentence of a judge, and leaving the determination of their guilt or innocence to a council of their equals, too numerous to be influenced by mercenary motives, and whose unanimity could admit no doubts as to the justice of their decisions.†

The precipitate conduct of Harold, in risking his crown upon the issue of a single battle, gave to William of Normandy the Kingdom of England. A. D. 1066. The Conqueror overturned at once the whole fabric of the Saxon laws, and erected the feudal system upon its ruins.

A proper acquaintance with this extraordinary institution, which was at that time common in all the countries upon the continent of Europe, conduces materially to illustrate the history of those times, and to explain the ancient tenure of landed property. For a particular account of it we refer to our history of modern Europe.

The first of the Norman tyrants not only broke the line of hereditary succession to the crown of England, but reduced the people to the most abject slavery. The confiscations of the Saxon estates, and the general distress of their proprietors, plainly indicated his policy and rapacity. All

* For the mode in which the Wittena-gemote was constituted see Brady's Introduction to the History of England, p. 7, 8, &c. For an account of the ancient Germans, the reader is referred to Hume, vol. i. p. 198; Modern Europe, vol. i. p. 58; and Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, c. 7.

† The detail of his eventful and glorious reign is written with peculiar spirit and elegance by Hume, vol. i. p. 76.

the lands of the natives were either seized for the king, or given to his favourites; large tracts formerly cultivated by the industrious Saxons were abandoned to the original wildness of nature; and even whole counties were converted into forests and wastes, to afford an unbounded scope to his passion for the chase.

The severity of the forest laws sufficiently makes the selfishness of his diversions, and the cruelty of his temper. The life of an animal was valued at a higher rate than that of a man; and this uncontrolled and destructive ambition was extended to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field.

With the Norman language, which was adopted in the services of the church, as well as in the courts of justice, were introduced the Norman laws. The ancient Trial by Jury was exchanged for the uncertain and unjust decision by single combat. The extinction of all fires at the melancholy sound of the Curfew was a striking emblem of the extinction of liberty. The nation groaned under every distress that an obdurate and politic conqueror could inflict; and their chains were so firmly rivetted, as to require a degree of energy and unanimity to break them, which the timid and oppressed Saxons had not sufficient resolution to exert.

In the following reigns of the Norman tyrants the same hardships were endured with little alleviation. The people still continued to have no resource against the execution of the most sanguinary laws. The exorbitant power of the king, and its frequent abuses, at length roused a spirit of opposition, which was at once determined and irresistible. But as his feudal demesnes were large, and his influence extended over a great number of vassals, they did not think themselves sufficiently formidable to oppose his authority, without securing the co-operation of the other possessors of land. They therefore held out to the commons the most advantageous inducements, by promising to stipulate with the king for a redress of all public grievances, and an augmentation of their common privileges.

In Runny Mead the great foundation of English liberty was laid. A. D. 1215. Carte, vol. i, p. 831. There the reluctant and perfidious John, after having repeatedly disregarded their former solicitations, was compelled to sign MAGNA CHARTA, and the CHARTA OF THE FOREST.* The

* He murdered his nephew Arthur with his own hands. See Carte, vol. i, p. 796. I have heard Mr. Tho. Warton say—"You may read

arm of force and terror, which his triumphant barons held over his head, was strengthened by the claims of justice. It is true, indeed, that as they held their estates by the feudal tenure, they were obliged to submit to the conditions he imposed, and to obey the mandates of an arbitrary chieftain. But as all the kings from the conquest had solemnly sworn at their coronation to revive the laws of Edward the confessor, and had uniformly violated their engagements, the barons conceived themselves justifiable, when their partizans and adherents were sufficiently strong and numerous, in demanding from John, by the power of the sword, the full execution of his promise.

The abject and servile state of the people previous to this auspicious event is sufficiently evident, from considering the immunities granted by Magna Charta, and the Charter of the Forest. The barons vindicated more of their rights than merely consisted in the abolition of their own hardships and grievances. Firm in their engagements to the commons, who enlisted under their standard, they obtained for them the participation of many of their own privileges. They were equally exempted from unreasonable fines, or illegal distresses, for service due to the crown; and acquired the privilege of disposing of their property by will. The provisions of Magna Charta enjoined an uniformity of weights and measures, gave new encouragements to commerce, by the protection of foreign merchants; prohibited all delay in the administration of justice; established annual circuits of judges; confirmed the liberties of all cities and districts; and protected every freeholder in the full enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property; unless they were pronounced by his peers to be forfeited to the laws of his country.*

Hume for his elegance; but Carte is the historian for facts." My careful perusal of his elaborate work has fully confirmed the truth of this observation: and I think him an historian particularly well adapted to the present times of political novelties; as he is an intelligent and zealous advocate for the rights of kings, as well as subjects; and maintains upon all accasions the honour and dignity of the Church of England.

* "Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, vel disseisietur de libero tenemento suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis; aut utlagetur, aut exulet, aut aliquo modo destruetur. Nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terræ. Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus judicium, vel rectum." Magna Charta, cap. 29.

"This article is so *important*, that it may be said to comprehend the whole end and design of political societies; and from that moment the English would have been a free people, if there were not an immense difference between the making of laws, and the observing of them." De Lolme on the Constitution, p. 28.

Thus was the first general opposition successfully made against arbitrary power; and those rights were vindicated, which the ancient inhabitants of the island had enjoyed. As Magna Charta was granted under circumstances of great solemnity, and afterwards ratified at the beginning of every subsequent reign, it was a sacred hostage deposited in the hands of the people, for the equitable government of their kings. Unlike the traditional maxims of tyrannical power, to which any colour of interpretation could be given, which might suit the caprice, the folly, or the necessity of absolute monarchs, this celebrated Charter was a public and conspicuous stipulation, to which immediate appeal might be made to determine the right of the commoners to a redress of grievances, and the free administration of justice. It was the root, from which salutary laws gradually branched out, as the state of society became more civilized and enlightened, for the protection and security not only of the proprietors of land and of merchants, who it is to be remarked, were its sole objects, but of persons of every rank and degree in the kingdom.

In the reign of Henry the third, which although it was of longer continuance than that of any other monarch, who has ever swayed the English sceptre, and was remarkable for vexatious conflicts between the haughty barons and a capricious king, we may discover some of the earliest traces of a representative legislature. The captive monarch, intimidated by the sword of the imperious Simon Montford, Earl of Leicester, issued orders for every county to depute persons to assist him and his nobles in their deliberations on state affairs. Thus to the distractions and troubles of these disastrous times, England is indebted for the representatives of the people being first called to parliament.

"There are still preserved in the tower of London some writs issued, during this reign, for the choice of two knights in each shire, to represent their county in parliament; but this representation was not yet grown to a settled custom: and though there are no summons to either lords or commons, nor any rolls of this particular parliament as yet discovered in any of our repositories of records; yet by other accounts given thereof, these lesser barons, knights, and military tenants holding immediately of the crown, seem to have been summoned, according to John's magna charta, by a general proclamation, to appear not by any representation, but in their own persons."

The more regular establishment of the house of commons

may, however, be referred to the succeeding reign of EDWARD THE FIRST. A. D. 1265. Anno 18. Edw. I. See Brady's Introduction for a copy of one of the writs, p. 149. Carte, vol. ii, p. 151. Strongly actuated by the martial spirit of his age, he engaged in long and expensive wars against Wales and Scotland, in consequence of which his treasury was exhausted, and his only resource for regular supplies was found in the contributions of his subjects. But as the mode pursued by his predecessors of filling their coffers had been both odious, and in a great degree inefficient, he devised a method of obtaining by their own consent what had formerly been wrested by the arbitrary mandate of the king. With this view, the sheriffs of the different counties were commanded to invite the towns and boroughs to send deputies to parliament, to provide for his pecuniary wants, and to ratify the resolutions made by himself and the house of lords. He likewise annexed an important article to magna charta, by which he bound himself and his successors not to raise any subsidies whatever, without the approbation of both lords and commons. Several excellent laws for the ease and benefit of all ranks of his subjects were passed in this "general parliament," which gave infinite satisfaction to the whole body of the nation, and gained Edward the entire affections of his people. A. D. 1275. Carte, vol. ii, p. 182.

From the praise which many writers give to this great monarch, some share must be deducted on account of the necessities, to which he exposed himself by his frequent wars. The provisions of magna charta had doubtless been very conducive to the extent of freedom: but we find, that with whatever veneration the people might regard them, they had been constantly violated, whenever the immediate predecessors of Edward the first were powerful enough to break their promises. A house composed of the representatives of the people was the only bulwark of sufficient strength to check the torrent of despotism: and the importunity of the commons for more liberty, and of the king for pecuniary aid, failed not to produce such gradual concessions from both parties, as contributed to fix in succeeding times an equal balance of power.

The character of Edward the first was marked not only by the bravery of a warrior, but the more useful and profound talents of a legislator. He ratified both the charters, and observed their conditions with a scrupulous exactness, which formed the distinguished glory of his reign. He

afforded a free and extensive scope to the exercise of the statutes of the realm, surrendered a part of his right of sending mandates to arrest the progress of justice; and, as a decisive proof of his respect for the laws, and his alacrity to promote their impartial administration, he caused his son, the prince of Wales, to be publicly apprehended and imprisoned, for breaking down the fences and killing the deer of Walter de Langton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. A. D. 1305. Rapin, vol. i, p. 383. fol.

It is natural enough to conclude, that as at this period the members of both houses of parliament held their deliberations under the authority of a wise and moderate sovereign, they would make the greatest interest of the nation at large the subjects of their debates, and thus improve the science of legislation. Accordingly we find that they gave their attention to many plans of great public utility; they passed laws for establishing manufactures in various parts of England, for supporting the parochial clergy by the endowment of vicarages, and for restraining the encroachments and the rapacity of the see of Rome. Every succeeding generation has expressed its applause of this illustrious reign, and felt the benefits of its wise and salutary institutions. By Edward the first the laws were carried so far towards perfection, that he has been styled the English Justinian. Sir Matthew Hale did not scruple to affirm, that more was done in the first thirteen years of his government, to settle and establish the distributive justice of the kingdom, than in all the ages down to his own time. Blackstone's Comment. vol. iv, p. 424.

To trace the progress of the increasing privileges of the house of commons, we must have recourse to particular facts. In a tone of bold and just complaint the two houses of parliament called upon the weak and unfortunate Edward the second to banish Gaveston, his insinuating but licentious favourite, from his court. This was the first exercise of that important privilege, which consisted in the impeachment of the suspected ministers of the crown. By the petition annexed to their bills for granting subsidies to Edward the third and Henry the fourth, the house of commons claimed a proportionable share of the legislation with the king and the house of lords, by making bills for pecuniary supplies originate with themselves.

In the martial reign of EDWARD THE THIRD, the parliament is supposed to have assumed its present form by a separation of the commons from the lords. The celebrated

statute for defining treasons was one of the first productions of this newly modelled assembly. Many laws were passed for depressing the civil power of the pope, the security of personal property, and the interests of trade and commerce. During this reign magna charta was ten times confirmed; and this repeated ratification conferred more glory upon the king, than all his victories obtained in France or Wales.

The glorious victories of CRESSY, POICTIERS, and AGINCOURT, cannot fail to engage our attention, and fill the mind of an Englishman with the highest and most favourable opinion of the valour of his ancestors. The laurels reaped by an Edward and a Henry are still fresh and unfading; and the voice of fame will proclaim their exploits to the remotest posterity. Scenes of intestine commotion succeeded: and the houses of York and Lancaster combated with the malice of demons, and the fierceness of barbarians, for the crown of the meek and pious Henry the sixth. A. D. 1400, &c. The country was abandoned to the desolation of war, the blood of the noblest families was shed in the fatal battles of St. Alban's, Wakefield, Towton, and Tewkesbury; but no advantage accrued from such inhuman contests to the general good of the people. The voice of law and humanity was drowned by the rude clash of arms; and the incredible slaughter that was made by the contending factions was a melancholy proof of the prevalence of the feudal system, and of the alacrity with which the people flew to arms, whenever the standard of war was raised by the imperious barons.

While we remark the exorbitant influence of a martial aristocracy, and the indiscretion and violence of some of the kings, whose measures they controlled more frequently from motives of self-aggrandizement, than ardour for the public good, let us not forget to pay the tribute of justice to unfortunate monarchs. The castles of Berkley and Pomfret, and in a later age, the tower of London, witnessed the sufferings of Edward the second, Richard the second, and Henry the sixth, and were stained with their foul and nefarious murders. The temporising members of the parliaments, who had deposed them, denied them even the privilege of a common subject, and refused to hear them in their own defence. The act of deposition was virtually an order for their execution; since the experience of ages proves, that to a prince, when the allegiance of his subjects is withdrawn, the passage is short from the throne to the grave. Although neither Edward nor Richard were much

beloved in their prosperity; yet, by a revolution of opinions, natural to mankind, their sufferings, aggravated by an untimely and cruel death, excited the pity, and even the veneration of their subjects. The proceedings of the houses of parliament upon these trying occasions proved the wretched defects of the laws, and the uncontrolled power of the vindictive sword. The fortunate pretender to the crown, however black his perjury, or flagrant his rebellion, was allowed and even encouraged to trample upon the rights of humanity and justice, and wrest the sceptre from his lawful sovereign. Yet after these severe conflicts, the royal prerogative regained its ascendancy: the general liberties of the country were disregarded, and all orders of the state united with equal servility to prostrate themselves before the throne, and to present their swords and their estates to the disposal of the conqueror. A. D. 1485.

The succession of the Tudor family to the crown produced some important acquisitions to the cause of freedom. Henry VII. whose conduct was influenced by oppressive avarice as well as consummate policy, weakened the power of his nobles, by permitting them to alienate their lands. This privilege, as we have remarked in our survey of the feudal system, gave a deep and incurable wound to that institution, and raised the respectability of the lower orders of the community, who were enabled, by the increasing supplies of trade and commerce, to become the purchasers of estates. By dividing the lands among many proprietors a competition of small interests was produced; and those great and formidable confederacies of the aristocratical power, which had so frequently excited the alarms of kings, and subverted the throne in former ages, were prevented by this salutary measure, or at least rendered very difficult to be formed.

The conduct of HENRY VIII. exhibited a perpetual struggle of violent passions. The condemnation of two of his queens, of the gallant and accomplished Lord Surry, and of the facetious and learned Sir Thomas More, must consign him to the hatred of all posterity. A. D. 1509. Rapin, vol. i, p. 794, &c. Carte, vol. iii, p. 1, &c. Hume, vol. iv, p. 35. His passion for the beautiful and unfortunate Ann Boleyn induced him to free his kingdom from the shackles of papal supremacy, and introduce the reformation of religion. This event formed a new and extraordinary epoch in the English history. It repressed the inordinate power of the clergy, abolished the monastic

orders, and, by founding religious principle upon reason and scripture alone, improved the manly seriousness and inherent dignity of the British character. The reformation was highly favourable to civil as well as religious rights, and encouraged that spirit of free inquiry, from which it derived its origin. Men, who had the intrepidity to demolish the fabric of popery, supported as it was by the antiquity of its establishments, the splendour of its ceremonies, and the sacred character of its ministers, were not to be checked in their researches into the imperfections and abuses of government. The seeds therefore of political innovation were deeply sown; and although they were for some time checked in their growth, as all orders of his subjects bowed with the most abject servility before this impetuous and tyrannical monarch, yet in succeeding times their fruits sprung up in the greatest abundance.

Splendid as the reign of ELIZABETH appears, with respect to her transactions with foreign countries, she inherited the temper of her father: the imperfections of her mind were those for which the Tudor family was remarkable, and she ruled with the most despotic sway. A. D. 1558. Uncontrollable in the indulgence of her passions, and by turns the slave of love and hatred, she sentenced her favourite Essex to death, and consigned to a miserable and tedious imprisonment, and finally to the axe of the executioner, a cousin and a sovereign, whose charms excited her envy, and the suspicion of whose conspiracies provoked her revenge. Mary, queen of Scotland, many particulars of whose history are perplexed by contradictory accounts, and involved in obscurity, has been made the object of admiration to succeeding ages, as much, perhaps, on account of her misfortunes, captivity, and cruel death, as her incomparable beauty, sweetness of disposition, and excellent understanding*. The nobles feared and venerated Elizabeth; and the members of her house of commons, more obsequious to her demands and caprice than the ancient parliaments of Paris ever were to the dictates of a French monarch, assembled only to learn and obey her will, and to tax their constituents for her support. Her subjects

* The learned Camden, a contemporary writer, ascribes to her a constant steadiness in religion, a singular piety to God, an invincible greatness of mind, and a wisdom above her sex, besides her personal charms. Carte, as if enamoured of the subject, has drawn her character with a degree of eloquence far superior to his usual style. Vol. iii, p. 619. Appendix, p. 817.

were exempted from the privileges and cares of political power; and, at once dazzled by the splendour of her court, and the success of her arms, the strength of her understanding, the extent of her learning, and the masculine intrepidity of her temper, were blind to her obstinacy, avarice, and cruelty.

JAMES I. was remarkable for the mildness of his disposition, and the attention he always paid to removing the grievances of his subjects*, in which circumstance he afforded an illustrious contrast to his immediate predecessors. In his pacific reign many encroachments were made upon the royal prerogative; or rather all the different orders of his kingdom began to feel their own importance, and were determined to exert their power. A. D. 1602. The flourishing state of commerce raised the merchants to great respectability; and their rapid increase of wealth, naturally claimed suitable distinctions and privileges. The members of corporations were active in augmenting their rights; and the king, by an impolitic imitation of his predecessors, added to their number. The citizens of London were not so blinded by the condescension of their royal master in becoming a member of a company of merchants as not to solicit large concessions from the throne. The spirit of fanaticism, discontent, and ambition, prevailed in the house of commons; and all the actions of the king, and his immediate successors, their folly or wisdom, their virtues or their vices, were equally exposed to complaint and opposition. A. D. 1625. The caprice of his temper, and the unsteadiness of his conduct, appearing at one time resolved upon measures, which at another he retracted; writing one day to his house of commons in a peremptory strain, and soon after sending them letters replete with concession and apology; gave great advantage to the artful supporters of the puritanical party, and encouraged them in the pursuit of their dark machinations against church and state. Carte, vol. iv, p. 128.

Such was the threatening aspect of affairs, when the amiable and accomplished CHARLES assumed the reins of government. Carte, vol. iv, p. 606. It was his peculiar misfortune to ascend the throne at a period, when no experience of his predecessors could be fully conclusive, as to the

* "Sir Edward Coke, at a time when he was out of favour and a malecontent, declared, that he never knew any complaint made to the king of any abuse out of parliament but he gave orders immediately to have it reformed." Carte, vol. iv, p. 129.

measures of state most proper to be adopted; and when the constitution of the country was in reality undergoing an alteration, while it appeared to be the same as in preceding times. Those who succeeded him discovered the change, and took the proper means to prevent its unhappy consequences: but the discovery, though afterwards easy to be made, was perhaps at that time placed out of the reach of human sagacity. The good qualities of Charles were more calculated to accelerate than to retard the fury of the storm, which threatened, and soon burst around him. Too scrupulous an adherence to his rights as a king, and his extraordinary zeal for the church of England, contributed to introduce the train of events, which proved so fatal to himself, and so disastrous to his country.

In the early part of his reign, he was induced to exercise with too much severity that undefined prerogative, over the odious part of which the cautious Elizabeth had drawn a veil, but which her successor James had exerted with ostentatious parade upon trivial occasions. However inquisitorial the constitution of the star chamber and the high commission court was, or however rigid the punishments, which they denounced against state offences; their authority was fully sanctioned by ancient customs. Few if any clamours had been raised against their proceedings during the reigns of former sovereigns. But, unhappily for Charles, the decrees of the star chamber at first excited popular invectives and tumult, and finally provoked a steady and determined opposition. The people called with a peremptory voice for a general redress of grievances. It ought for ever to be remembered, that this call was obeyed, and that the fullest concessions were made on the part of the king previous to the great rebellion. But as suspicions were entertained of the sincerity of his declarations, his sacrifices to the parliament, connected with some rash actions and unguarded expressions, were considered rather as the result of compulsion than of choice. Cromwell, Fairfax, Ireton, and all the popular leaders, therefore, failed not to embrace an opportunity so favourable to their ambition. They fired the minds of their party with their own fanaticism, and plunged the nation into all the horrors of a civil war. The refusal of Charles to resign the appointment of officers in the militia, was a signal for the commencement of hostilities; and the royal sword was finally drawn for the maintenance of what the king deemed a just prerogative, long after the parliament had recourse to arms.

The last scene of this tragical period is such as the humane historian must lament to record, and the friend to regal government must peruse with reluctance and horror; for it was closed with the solemn mockery of an illegal trial, and the murder of a monarch upon the scaffold.*

The violent convulsion, which subverted the throne, afforded an ample field of action to the abilities of the politic and hypocritical CROMWELL. He not only sought his safety in the destruction of the king, but established a complete despotism upon the ruins of the regal power. Under his conduct the army, as the prætorian bands had acted in the Roman empire, overawed the clamours of contending factions, and gave a master to their distracted country. The talents, courage, and political skill of the protector shone equally in his conduct at home, and in his transactions abroad; and no prince who ever swayed the sceptre of this nation impressed the potentates of Europe with a more lively sense of the energy of the English councils, and the terror of the English arms. To add to the wonders of his extraordinary history, amidst the alarms and the exertions of returning loyalty, he died a natural death, while he was attempting to convert a military government into one more permanent and more congenial to the temper of his countrymen.†

* January 30, A. D. 1649.
Excidat illa dies ævo, nec postera credant
Sæcula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa
Nocte tegi propria patiamur crimina gentis.
Lord Clarendon concludes his character in these words: "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian, that the age he lived in produced,"—Clarendon's History, vol. iii, p. 199. This eminent writer is supposed by some to have recorded rather a vindication of Charles than an impartial History of the Rebellion: but a proper examination of his work will show that he was not much influenced by any unfair bias in favour of the unfortunate monarch. There are, it is true, some palliations and softening expressions with respect to the king: but Clarendon has given as free an opinion of the origin of the Civil War, as any republican could have done. Speaking of the illegal proceedings of the star chamber, he says, "those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, *were never more in danger* of being destroyed." Book I, p. 67.

† His character by Lord Clarendon is thus concluded: "In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes, against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell fire is prepared; so he had some good qualities, which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated: and he will be looked upon by posterity as a *brave wicked man.*" History of the rebellion, vol. iii, p. 509.

The conduct of the parliament after the restoration, A. D. 1660. at first sight appears to have been highly inconsistent. In the former part of the reign of Charles II. he was flattered by their most abject devotion to his will; and towards the conclusion of it, he was assailed by their determined opposition. But the apparent inconsistency of their conduct may be reconciled by adverting to the alteration of circumstances. The people, rescued from the despotism of Cromwell, and the oppression of his emissaries, were led, by the extravagance of their joy, after the re-establishment of the ancient family, to express the most complete submission to the will of their sovereign, and to testify the most ardent wishes to exalt the crown above the attack of popular rage. But when the projects of the king to introduce popery and arbitrary government were detected, they suddenly awoke to a full sense of a danger, alarming as that which they had recently escaped.

The tide of popular opinion therefore turned with violence against the king, who with his brother, the duke of York, was nearly carried away by its current. The commons boldly exerted their privileges. To the attention which they paid to the oppression of an obscure individual, England is indebted for the final improvement of the act of *Habeas Corpus*, which rescues the prisoner as well from the delay of trial, which the ministers of the crown may devise, as from the hardship of confinement out of his native country.* This statute may be regarded as an invaluable supplement to magna charta; and the attentive reader of our history will not fail to remark, that such measures as these were taken to extend the sphere of liberty, during the reign of arbitrary princes. A. D. 1684. This spirited house of commons impeached the earl of Danby, who had basely been instrumental in making his master a pensioner of France; they declared their hostility to popery, and deliberated upon the exclusion of the duke of York from the crown, in consequence of his avowed attachment to that religion, and his marriage with a papist.

The death of the witty and dissipated Charles II. while annulling the charters of great towns, and meditating schemes in order to make future parliaments obsequious to his inclination, saved him from the resentment of an incensed people. The conduct of James II. congenial in his principles,

* A. D. 1679. Hume, vol. viii, p. 107. Letters of Junius, p. 226. De Lolme, p. 192, 362, 486. Rapin, vol. ii, p. 675, 707. Earl of Danby. Hume, vol. viii, p. 86.

and more bold in the avowal and the execution of his designs than his brother, met with its due reward. A. D. 1684. The established religion of the country was insulted by the erection of a popish chapel in the midst of the royal camp; the rights of election were infringed by the despotic appointment of a popish president to Magdalen college in the university of Oxford; the privileges of parliament were violated by a standing army, maintained in the time of profound peace, without their consent; and the exercise of the right of subjects to present petitions to the king was punished by the imprisonment of six bishops in the tower. Popery and slavery seemed to be again returning with hasty steps; and the spirit of determined opposition was roused to check their advances. WILLIAM, prince of Orange, descended from the illustrious house of Nassau, grandson of Charles I. was invited to share the throne with Mary, the daughter of James. The king, struck with consternation at the desertion of his army, his fleet, and even his own children, threw up the reins of government, and was indebted to the clemency, or perhaps the policy of his enemies, for a secure escape into France.

The reign of the Stuarts consisted in a continued struggle for power between the monarch and his subjects. The public mind was kept in a constant state of fermentation; and the times, however favourable to the exercise of political skill and courage, seemed to allow no leisure for the cultivation of the intellectual powers, or the growth of knowledge, which is usually the improvement of tranquillity and repose. Yet, amid the turbulence of this period was founded the Royal Society, an institution, which has been particularly favourable to the promotion of science and genuine philosophy. The revolution was a most distinguishing epoch in the history of England, as it altered the line of succession by a power immediately derived from the people, and gave such an ascendant to their liberty, as to extend its influence, secure its continuance, and place it upon a solid and durable foundation. The means by which it was accomplished, without the effusion of blood, at least upon English ground, were as extraordinary as the importance of it was great, not only to Britain, but to the common interests of Europe.

At the auspicious moment, when William III. gave his assent to the bill of rights, the fabric of the constitution was completed. The most valuable parts of the feudal system, and the recent plans of liberty, were consolidated in one

consistent and uniform mass of jurisprudence. A. D. 1688. The privileges of the people, and the prerogative of the king, were weighed in the balance of justice; and were ascertained and defined, not so much by prescription on the one hand, or the predominance of a democratic party on the other, as by the more enlarged and moderate principles of reason and expediency. The important change then introduced into the succession to the throne was calculated to exclude the repetition of such an event, against which the laws had not before provided a remedy. That the crown should never more be possessed by a papist, was an important declaration made by the bill of rights: and with such alarming apprehensions did the revolutionists view a monarch of that description, that they thought it necessary to deprive the future kings of England of the right given to every subject of choosing his own religion. The arguments in favour of this restriction were cogent and irresistible. The religious liberty of the people was regarded as intimately connected with their civil welfare. A recent example had taught them, that the character of a popish prince was inseparable from that of a despot; and they wished for ever to prevent the repetition of the wrongs and outrages, which had sprung from the union of bigotry with arbitrary power. Influenced by a spirit of moderation, and rather seeking a remedy for *past abuses*, than framing a government upon principles of *hazardous* and *untried theory*, they made few changes in the established laws and statutes. But they thought it a duty incumbent upon them to embrace this opportunity of giving their due strength, vigour, and authority, to the liberty of the subject. Accordingly, the ascendancy of the law above the will of the king was fully declared, his dispensing authority was judged illegal, and the undoubted privileges of the subject to petition for a redress of grievances, and to provide for his self-defence, were guarded against violation, in the most clear and positive terms. The king was invested with every power, which his predecessors had exercised over parliaments, corporations, the army, and the navy, except the power of doing injury; and his subjects were laid under those equitable restraints, which were most consistent with rational liberty. And to complete their independence, the privileges of Englishmen were not solicited as a favour, but asserted in the most emphatical terms, as an undoubted and inherent right. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depend-

ing upon each other, and the dignity and honour of the King were involved in the security and happiness of his subjects.

The reign of QUEEN ANNE was distinguished by a successful war against France, in which John duke of Marlborough, one of the greatest generals, not only of his age, but of modern times, defeated by an uninterrupted succession of victories at the head of the allied armies of England, Germany, and Holland, the attempts of Louis XIV. to obtain universal sovereignty; and raised the renown both of himself and his country to the highest pitch of glory. This reign is also rendered memorable by the union of England and Scotland, and their joint representation in the parliament of Great Britain—measures which the regularly increasing and uninterrupted prosperity of both countries has amply justified. A. D. 1706. The death of Queen Anne was followed by the succession of the house of Hanover to the throne; and each descendant of this illustrious family, particularly the REVERED SOVEREIGN who now holds the sceptre of the United Kingdom, has ever protected the civil and religious rights of his subjects from violation, and built his glory upon the firmest basis, by reigning in the hearts of his subjects, and maintaining the most endearing and the most exalted of all human characters—even that of being the FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE.

Expedient as the steps taken at the revolution might be to settle the government, it is unfortunate for the tranquillity of the country, that the event gave rise to political divisions. The whigs and the tories have since divided the kingdom, and kept alive the flames of party spirit. Possibly, however, in a free country like our own, where a wide field is opened for a rivalry of talents, and a competition of interests, this counterbalance of parties may prevent evil, if it does not produce good. If the current of opinion flowed only in one stream, the vigilance of government might be relaxed, the arrogance of men in office might want a salutary check, or their supineness be deprived of a stimulative; and no place could be found for that exertion of abilities, which often takes its rise from opposition. Whatever be the party, under which they may be enlisted, we may be certain the men in power can only secure the great and permanent prosperity of the nation by a conscientious, upright, and magnanimous discharge of their duty. The history of the two parties is recorded with singular correctness by Rapin,

a dispassionate and candid foreigner.* His detail affords sufficient proofs how impolitic as well as wicked it is in every statesman, while he holds the honours, and treasures of the kingdom in his hands, not to prefer disinterestedness to corruption, independence to servility, and public good to every consideration of partial and private advantage.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THIS transient and superficial view of the progress of the constitution has enabled us to discover, that the rays of true liberty first illuminated our Saxon ancestors; the despotism of the Normans suddenly obscured this auspicious morning; but the sun of freedom broke through the gloom, spread its beam over Runny Mead and the plains of Merton, where the barons nobly vindicated their ancient rights from the oppression of their monarchs. The storms of civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster raged with violence for a time, and darkened the political horizon with the most tempestuous clouds. But the glorious sun of liberty again displayed itself at the reformation, was again obscured by the conflict of king and people, and finally shone forth with meridian glory at the revolution.

* See Rapin, vol. iii, p. 796. Of his impartiality and candour there are many instances. In his Life of Edward III. vol. i, p. 418, and p. 436. See his remarks on the treaty of Bretigny—his Letter to Robethon at the end of vol. ii, and p, 807 of the Dissertation on whigs and tories. To extricate himself from some historical difficulties, he has laid down *two* excellent rules. He remarks that the national prejudices of our historians are very rooted, chiefly upon two articles—the violation of treaties, and the success of battles. For the former, where the truth was no other way to be discovered, he has frequently made use of a very natural maxim, viz. that it is not likely that the party to whom a treaty is advantageous, should be the first to break it. As for the second article, nothing is more common than to see historians hesitate to own their nation vanquished, and they think it incumbent upon them to diminish their losses, or magnify their victories. On these occasions, when Rapin could not fix the success of a battle by the consequences, he has taken care to inform the reader of the disagreement between the Historians. See Preface, p. 4.

The gradual progress of liberty in England was not more beneficial with respect to the government of the country, than conducive to the enlargement and freedom of opinion. The powers of the mind were directed with ardour and success to the examination of those rooted prejudices, which had been long received without sufficient reason. The struggles of contending factions gave birth to the exertions of Milton, Sidney Locke, and Somers. These writers were the founders of new political schools; and we may rank among their disciples a Montesquieu, a Rousseau, a Voltaire, a Franklin, and a Washington. If ever the American is disposed to boast of the freedom of his country, let him recollect, that the lessons of that freedom were taught him by the parent state. When the French maintain, that the plans of any of their varying forms of democracy, since the revolution of 1789, have originated solely in the abstract principles and deduction of reason, do they not forget that Britain first suggested to their legislators their best and most approved maxims of government: and that even at the present moment, while they boast of enacting the most equitable laws, they transcribe the statute book of this country? When an Englishman asks these questions, he indulges much nobler and more generous feelings than those of vanity or arrogance; for he experiences the most genuine satisfaction to observe, that the blessings he enjoys are not limited to his own country; and while he protests against any deductions which may be made from the principles of his own government, that may disturb social order, and lead to anarchy and confusion, he is happy whenever they are so judiciously reduced to practice as to promote the general welfare of mankind.

In tracing the stream of liberty from its lowest ebb to its highest tide, the different events, which have been brought forward in this short detail, are designed to suggest, rather than to state a variety of useful reflections. It is evident that the British constitution has reached its present state of improvement, not so much in consequence of the deep and refined speculations of philosophers and politicians, as by the concussion of discordant interests, and the hostility of contending parties. The struggles for power before the revolution were very numerous, and in some of them the rights of *kings* were as flagrantly insulted as those of the *people*. The measures frequently employed for the destruction of the constitution, particularly in the reign of James II. were the means that ultimately strengthened its powers, and gave

fresh vigour to its operations. The auspicious effects and remote tendency of many transactions, which contributed to its improvement, were probably neither foreseen by the agents, nor formed any part of their plans.

From the reign of John to that of William III. every attempt in the form of war, treaty, and accommodation, has been made to narrow the circle, and define the power of the royal prerogative; and the designs of every true patriot, whenever sincerely directed to the promotion of the good of the community, have ever been ultimately crowned with success. In a period the most disastrous in the modern part of our history, viz. the usurpation of Cromwell, the rights of property, which is the basis of our political establishment, were grossly violated by a democratic faction. The populace were roused to arms to serve the ambitious purposes of hypocritical tyrants, and the monarchy was overturned. The events of past ages are recorded in vain, unless they afford useful lessons for the instruction of ourselves and our posterity.

The BRITISH CONSTITUTION deserves the grateful homage of every one who shares its blessings, and presents to the attention of the political speculatists, both of our own and other countries, the fairest theme of admiration and applause.*

All the advantages of a representative republic are derived from the right of the people to choose their own members of the *house of commons*, and from the important privileges which those members enjoy.

The *house of lords* forms a middle link of the political

* "The English, said the illustrious *President de Montesquieu*, are the most free people that ever were upon earth. England, of all the nations in the world, is that which has known how to make the most (all at the same time) of those three great things, religion, commerce, and liberty." *Brissot*, who perhaps paid even with his life for the opposition of his actions to his opinions, says in his letter to his constituents, "The English government, which I had investigated upon the spot, appeared to me, in spite of its defects, a model for those nations that were desirous to change their government. The work of M. *De Lolme*, adds he, which is no more than an ingenious panegyric upon this excellent constitution, was at that time in the hands of the learned few. It ought to have been made known to my countrymen; for to make it known was to make it beloved." Fas est et ab hoste doceri. Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii, p. 386, &c. "Happy constitution! which the people who possess it did not suddenly obtain: it has cost them rivers of blood; but they have not purchased it too dear." *Vattel* in his Law of Nations. See the equally impartial and honourable testimonies of *Philip de Comines*, *Rapin*, *De Lolme*, *Frederick of Prussia*, *Beaumelle*, the authors of the Encyclopedie Methodique, &c. &c.

chain between the king and the people, and is peculiarly useful, when regarded as a barrier against the usurpations of arbitrary power on the one side, and the encroachments of popular licentiousness on the other. Considered as an assembly appointed for the revision of such measures, as may be brought forward with precipitation, either by the king or the house of commons, they are of the highest importance to the state.

As the *king* is wholy dependent upon the other branches of the constitution for pecuniary aid, he is debarred from the execution of frivolous or ambitious projects, even were his ministers inclined to suggest them; and can only execute those plans, which are determined by the voice of the majority of his parliament to be conducive to the good of the nation.

The constitution of England includes the essence of the three different forms of government which prevail in the world, without their attendant disadvantages; for we have democracy without confusion, aristocracy without rigour, and monarchy without despotism. These principles are so compounded and mixed, as to form a political system, which is capable of producing more freedom, and true independence, than the renowned commonwealths of Athens and Rome could boast, or perhaps than was ever enjoyed by any other state in its highest prosperity and perfection.

Here then we behold that theory reduced to practice, which *one* great politician of antiquity pronounced to be the best; and which *another* esteemed to be a fair subject of commendation; and yet if it ever should exist, he maintained that it could not be permanent. The duration, however, of our constitution for so long a period of time, has happily proved, and, by the favour of a gracious Providence, it is devoutly hoped will continue to prove to the most remote times, the fallacy of his prediction.*

This is the source of social order and comfort, and from

* "Esse optime constitutam rempublicam, quæ ex trious generibus illis, regali, optimo, et populari, fit modice confusa." Cicero Fragm. de Repub. lib. ii. "Cunctas nationes et urbes populus aut primores, aut singuli regunt: delecta ex his, et constituta reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest." Tacitus, Ann. Lib. iv. The original idea is to be found in Polybius: lib. vi. p. 628. vol. ii, Edit. Casaub. Upon the nature of different governments, their origin and revolutions, this profound author, whose works ought to be carefully studied by every statesman, has made some judicious remarks in his sixth book.

it flow the invaluable rights of free-born Englishmen. These rights consist in the full enjoyment of security, liberty, property, and the impartial administration of the laws. The Englishman, whenever he is attacked, is not condemned to silence, or left unprotected. He can exercise a censorial power over his enemies, and speak, or publish his sentiments to the world. The courts of law are open to his complaints, and he may throw himself with perfect confidence upon the upright and impartial deliberations of a jury of his equals. He can petition the king and parliament for a redress of his grievances, and he can keep arms for his defence suitable to his rank and condition. He thus enjoys all the privileges, which the social compact, when properly understood, can bestow, and his sphere of action is as enlarged as a good citizen can desire. It is indeed only confined within such limits, as guard him from actions, which would prove dishonourable to himself, and pernicious to the public. See Blackstone's Comment. vol. i, p. 50, 127. vol. iii, p. 60. vol. iv, p. 267, &c.

This establishment is well adapted to the manners and character of the people. The freedom of spirit, which forms its basis and produces its glory; and the rational checks, which are laid upon the different branches of the legislator, accord with that complexional boldness of disposition, which is corrected by our national sedateness and deliberation of character. The temper of the people, like their climate, is variable and cloudy, continually exhibiting the most striking contrasts: but their principles of action, like those of their government and their religion, are permanent and fixed.

> Stern o'er each bosom reason holds her state,
> With daring aims, irregularly great;
> Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
> I see the lords of human kind pass by;
> Intent on high designs, a thoughtful band,
> By forms unfashioned, fresh from nature's hand.
> Fierce in their native hardiness of soul,
> True to imagin'd right, above control:
> While even the peasant boasts those rights to scan,
> And learns to venerate himself as Man*.

The mild administration of justice, and the indulgence of the law to the accused, is correspondent with that na-

* Goldsmith's Traveller.

tional benevolence, which, at the call of distress and indigence, pours forth a stream of bounty with a degree of copiousness unknown in any other country. The equality of the laws, extending their unbounded control, their restraints, and privileges, from the throne to the cottage, cherishes the native dignity of the Briton, and increases the intrepidity of his character. This equality is moreover an incentive to every useful enterprise, and encourages that activity of mind and body, which is natural to man. In the extension of trade and commerce to every quarter of the globe, in the perfection of manufactures, in the works of art, literature, and science, and in the execution of great projects which are recommended by the prospects of private advantage or public utility, the Englishman is ardent and indefatigable, and outstrips in the race of competition most of the inhabitants of the earth.

Such is the prospect of the British government, and such are its transcendent advantages and benign effects. Still, however, we are accustomed to hear complaints of the prevalence of various political evils, and public grievances. There are some indeed, which the enemies of their country exaggerate with a malevolent pleasure, and others which its friends acknowledge with sincere concern. But these are not the faults of the constitution; for if they were, they could without difficulty be removed. And this displays the advantages arising from our political system in a new and striking light. For does it not possess a principle of amendment, and a capacity of melioration? Without requiring any other aid, can it not supply a remedy for every disease, which it is in the power of any human system to alleviate or cure? The three great branches of which it consists, the king, the lords, and the commons, can of themselves revise what is obsolete, correct what is wrong, extend what is partial, and supply what is deficient in the laws and constitutions of the state. They can remove the obstructions which impede the progress of the political machine; they can give new strength to its various parts, and new velocity to its motion. And the acts of parliament which are passed every session, adapted to the particular circumstances and necessities of the times, are conspicuous and glorious proofs of this energetic and beneficial power.

Have we not therefore, I may confidently ask, abundant reason to glory in the name and in the privileges of Britons? Has not Providence showed its peculiar kindness in

placing us in this favoured island, and sheltering us under the protection of this most excellent system? Let us cast our eyes around the globe, survey the mighty empires of the world, and contemplate the forms of government, by which they are distinguished; and then let us ask, if they can supply us with a superior, or an equal share of political good. From the arbitrary sway of a Russian Czar, or a Turkish Sultan, an Englishman turns with aversion: and with what eyes can he survey the inhabitants of other countries, with whom he has a closer relation from similarity of manners, or vicinity of situation? They can excite no emotions but those which increase his attachment to his own country—a country which has from generation to generation been favourable to the progress of that *true liberty*, which in ancient times showed, and only showed, herself for a short period to the brave and ingenious nations of the south of Europe. Short was her influence in polished Athens, short in martial Rome. Invisible to the world for ages, during the baleful prevalence of general tyranny, superstition, and barbarity, she at last appeared upon the shores of Britain; and finding the character and the genius of the people favourable to her great designs, here she fixed her abode, and developed her matchless plan. Here she seats a king upon the throne, whose happiness is centered in that of his subjects; and one of the noblest and most illustrious acts of whose reign has been to render *judges*, the dispensers of the laws, perfectly independent of his will. Here she establishes the members of the houses of parliament, loyal, enlightened, and magnanimous. The expression of their united will is equal law, justice, toleration, security, order, and happiness. The rulers and the people, both those who give, and those to whom this happiness is imparted, deserve it the more, as it is their ardent wish and uniform endeavour to communicate the same blessings to others, which they enjoy themselves. In whatever regions of the globe the British commerce flourishes, are also felt the happy effects of the British polity. From the bleak mountains of Scotland, to the sunny shores of Malabar, is diffused its benign influence; and no place attests the power of Britain, which does not equally witness the mildness of her government, and the excellence of her laws.

And if more considerations can be wanted to endear our country and its political institutions to us, they may arise from the recollection of the great and extraordinary events,

which have taken place since the French revolution. Upon the continent we have seen the *Genius of innovation plying his destructive work*, overturning some governments by open war, and undermining others by secret plots. At home, we have witnessed the conflicts of party, and the conspiracies of faction; whilst our constitution, as "rocks resist the billows and the sky," has remained firm and uninjured. The storms which have assaulted it, and the shelter which it has afforded us, and all who have sought our shores for protection, have served to prove its unalterable stability, as well as its inestimable value.

The youth of the British empire will best show their conviction of these important truths by their persevering obedience to the laws, and their prudent use of the blessings conferred by their native country. But to defend this venerable edifice of liberty from the machinations of domestic, and the assaults of foreign enemies, is a charge which devolves more immediately upon the nobility, and upon those who are deputed to represent their countrymen in parliament. The conscientious and careful exercise of this most honourable trust is a duty which they owe to their ancestors, to themselves, and their descendants; and what labour can be too unremitting, what vigilance too active, what public spirit too exalted and ardent, to preserve unsullied and unimpaired a CONSTITUTION, which is the brightest ornament, the most glorious privilege, and the most valuable inheritance ever enjoyed by mankind?

Hail sacred Polity, by Freedom rear'd!
Hail sacred Freedom, when by law restrain'd!
Without you what were men? a grov'ling herd,
In darkness, wretchedness, and want enchain'd.
Sublim'd by you, the Greek and Roman reign'd
In arts unrivall'd: O! to latest days,
In *Albion* may your influence unprofan'd
To godlike worth the gen'rous bosom raise,
And prompt the sage's lore, and fire the poet's lays.

BEATTIE'S MINSTREL.

END OF THE HISTORICAL CLASS.

CLASS THE FOURTH.

PHILOSOPHY.

CHAPTER I.

LOGIC, OR THE RIGHT USE OF REASON.

IT is a very great error for any one to suppose, that logic consists only in those formal debates and verbal disputations, in which the schoolmen and their followers consumed so much time in the dark ages, previous to the revival of classical learning. It is equally a mistake to imagine, that it is merely intended to teach the method of disputing by rules, and to instruct a young man to converse, not from a love of truth, but a desire of victory. As there is nothing more disingenuous than such a conduct as this, nothing more unbecoming a rational being, than to oppose sophistry to good sense, and evasion to sound argument, the logician disclaims this *abuse* of the principles of his art, and vindicates its rights by displaying its true and proper office. It is in reality capable of affording the most important assistance to the understanding in its inquiries after truth; it is eminently useful in the common affairs of life, and renders the greatest service to science, learning, virtue and religion.

Logic is *the art of forming correct ideas, and of deducing right inferences from them;* or it may be said to constitute the knowledge of the human mind, inasmuch as it traces the progress of all our information, from our first and most simple conceptions of things, to those numerous conclusions, which result from comparing them together. It teaches us in what order our thoughts succeed each other, and it instructs us in the relation which subsists between our ideas, and the terms in which we express them. It distinguishes their different kinds, and points out their properties; discovers the sources of our intellectual mistakes, and shows

how we may correct and prevent them. It displays those principles and rules, which we follow, although imperceptibly, whenever we think in a manner conformable to truth.

The faculty of reason is the pre-eminent quality, by which mankind are distinguished from all other animals: but still we are far from finding that they possess it in the same degree. There is indeed as great an inequality in this respect in different persons, as there is in their strength and agility of body. Nor ought this disproportion to be wholly ascribed to the original constitution of the minds of men, or the difference of their natural endowments; for, if we take a survey of the nations of the world, we shall find that some are immersed in ignorance and barbarity, others enlightened by learning and science: and what is still more remarkable, the people of the same nation have been in various ages distinguished by these very opposite characters. It is therefore by due cultivation, and proper diligence, that we increase the vigour of our minds, and carry reason to perfection. Where this method is followed, the intellect acquires strength, and knowledge is enlarged in every direction; where it is neglected, we remain ignorant of the value of our own powers; and those faculties, by which we are qualified to survey the vast fabric of the world, to contemplate the whole face of nature, to investigate the causes of things, and to arrive at the most important conclusions as to our welfare and happiness, remain buried in darkness and obscurity. No branch of science therefore affords us a fairer prospect of improvement, than that which relates to the understanding, defines its powers, and shows the method, by which it acquires the stock of its ideas, and accumulates general knowledge:—this is the province of logic.

It is properly divided into four parts, viz.

I. PERCEPTION. II. JUDGMENT. III. REASONING. IV. METHOD.

In this division the logicians have followed the course of nature, as we shall find, if we reflect upon the conduct and progress of the understanding. These divisions have so close a connexion with each other, that it is scarcely possible to arrive at perfection in one of them, without the assistance of the others. To treat of perception we must make use of method; and in order to reason we must form every proposition with a due regard to rules.

I. PERCEPTION consists in the attention of the understanding to the objects acting upon it, whereby it becomes

sensible of the impressions they make; and the notices of these impressions, as they exist in the mind, are distinguished by the name of *ideas*. If we attend carefully to our thoughts, we shall observe two fountains or sources of knowledge, from which the understanding is supplied with all its ideas, or materials of thinking.—These are *sensation* and *reflection*.

Sensation is the source of our original ideas, and comprehends the notices conveyed into the mind by impulses or impressions made upon the organs of sense. Such are the perceptions of colours, sounds, tastes, &c. But we derive all these ideas, great as is their number, solely from external objects. Another source of impressions arises from the attention of the mind to its own perceptions, and considers the various modes, in which it employs itself concerning them. Thus we acquire the ideas of thinking, doubting, believing, &c. which are the different intellectual operations represented to us by our own consciousness. This act of the mind is called *reflection;* and it evidently implies sensation, as the impressions it furnishes proceed from the powers of the understanding occupied in the contemplation of ideas, with which it has been previously stored.

A proper consideration of these two sources of our thoughts will give us a clear and distinct view of the nature of the mind, and the first steps it takes in the path of knowledge. From these simple beginnings all our discoveries derive their origin; for the mind thus stored with its original notices of things has a power of combining, modifying, and placing them in an infinite variety of lights, by which means it is enabled to multiply the objects of its perception, and finds itself possessed of an inexhaustible stock of materials for reflection and reasoning. It is in the various comparisons of these ideas, according to such combinations as are best adapted to its ends, that we exert ourselves in the acts of judging and reasoning, enlarge our mental prospects, and can extend them in every direction. Thus are we enabled to form a notion of the whole progress of the soul, from the first dawnings of thought to the utmost limits of human knowledge. And it is particularly to be observed, that among our numerous discoveries, and the infinite variety of our conceptions, we are unable to find one original idea, which is not derived from sensation or reflection; or one complex idea, which is not composed of these original ones. "Our observation employed either about

external sensible objects, or about the internal operations of our minds, perceived and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understandings with all the materials of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring." Locke, book ii, chap. 1. see likewise book i, chap. 2. and book ii, chap. 1.

The ideas, with which the mind is thus furnished, fall naturally under two heads. First, those original impressions which are conveyed by sensation and reflection, and which exist uniformly and without any shadow of variety, and are called *simple ideas*, such as the ideas of colour, sound, heat, &c. And, secondly, those notions which result from the various combinations of simple ideas, whether they are supposed to co-exist in any particular subject, or are united together by the mind when it enlarges its conceptions. These are called *complex ideas*, such as a triangle, a square, &c. and are of two principal kinds; first, such as are derived from external objects, and represent those combinations of thought, which have a real existence in nature; of this kind are all our ideas of substances. Secondly, the conceptions formed by the mind itself, arbitrarily uniting and putting together its ideas. This makes by far the largest class, and comprehends all those ideas, which may be properly termed our own. They are called *abstract* or *universal*, such as whiteness, beauty, melody, &c. and are produced in various ways; for either the mind combines several simple ideas together, in order to form them into one conception, in which the number and quality of the ideas united are principally considered, and thus we acquire all our compound notions; or it fixes upon any of our ideas whether simple or compound; or upon the ideas of substances, and omitting the circumstances of time, place, real existence, or whatever renders it particular, considers the appearance alone, and makes that a representation of all that are of the same kind; or, lastly, it compares things with one another, examines their mutual connexions, and thereby furnishes itself with a new stock of notions, known by the name of *relations*, which are proportional, as equal, more, less, &c. or civil, as king and people, general and army, &c. This division of our ideas, as it seems to be the most natural, and truly to represent the manner in which they are introduced into the mind, will be found to include them in all their varieties.

We know that our thoughts, although so numerous and

manifold, are all contained within our own breasts, and are invisible. But as the Supreme Being formed mankind for society, he has provided us with organs proper for framing articulate sounds, and given us also a capacity of using those sounds, as signs of internal conceptions. From hence are derived words and languages. See Locke on the Ends of Language, book iii, c. 10. For any sound being once determined upon to stand as the sign of an idea, custom by degrees establishes such a connexion between them, that the appearance of the idea in the understanding always brings to our remembrance the name, by which it is expressed: and in like manner the hearing of the name never fails to excite the idea which it is intended to denote.

Definition *is the unfolding some conception of the mind by words, which answer to the term made use of as the sign of the conception*, "or it is the showing the meaning of one word by several other not synonymous terms." Locke, vol. i, p. 455. It furnishes us with the fittest means of communicating our thoughts; for if we were unable to impart our complex ideas to each other by the aid of definition, it would in many cases be impossible to make them known. This is evident in those ideas which are solely the offspring of the mind. For as they exist only in the understanding, and have no real objects in nature, in conformity to which they are framed, if we could not communicate them to others by description, they must be confined to the narrow limits of a single mind. All the beautiful scenes which spring from the fancy of a poet, and by his lively imagery give such entertainment to his readers, if he was destitute of this faculty of displaying them by words, could not extend their influence beyond his own breast, or give pleasure to any one, except the original inventor.

In our remarks upon language in general, we have adverted to the use and importance of definitions. Locke, book iii, chap. 4. To simple ideas we know them to be inapplicable: but as they are intended to make known the meaning of words, standing for all complex ideas, if we were always careful to form those ideas with exactness, and to copy our definitions from them with precision, as a skilful painter does a good likeness; much of the obscurity and confusion of language, as it is used both in writing and conversation, might be prevented.

II. The mind being furnished with ideas, the next step necessary in the progress of knowledge is to compare them together, in order to judge of their agreement or disagree-

ment. In this connected view of our ideas, if the relation is such as to be immediately discoverable by the bare inspection of the mind, the judgments thence obtained are called *intuitive*, from a word that denotes to look at, or into: for in this case a mere attention to ideas compared is sufficient to inform us how far they are connected or disjoined. Thus, "that the whole is greater than any of its parts" is an intuitive judgment, nothing more being required to convince us of its truth, than an attention to the ideas of whole and part. Intuition therefore is no more than an immediate perception of the agreement or disagreement of any two ideas. This is the first of the three foundations of our knowledge, upon which depends that species of reasoning, which is called demonstration. For whatever is deduced from our intuitive perceptions by a clear and connected series of proofs is said to be demonstrated, and produces absolute certainty. Hence the knowledge obtained in this manner is what we properly term SCIENCE, because in every step of the argument it carries its own evidence with it, and leaves no room for doubt. It is to demonstration that mathematical studies are indebted for their peculiar clearness and certainty.

The second ground of human judgment from which we infer the existence of the objects which surround us, and fall under the immediate notice of our senses, is *experience*. When we behold the sun, or direct our eyes to a building, we not only have ideas of those objects, but ascribe to them a real existence independent of the mind. It is likewise by the information of the senses, that we judge of the qualities of bodies; as when we assert that snow is white, fire is hot, or steel hard. As intuition is the foundation of all scientific, so is experience the foundation of all natural knowledge. For the latter being wholly conversant with objects of sense, or with those bodies which constitute the natural world, and we can only discover their properties by a series of observations, it is evident, that in order to improve this branch of knowledge, we must have recourse to the method of trial and experiment.

The third ground of judgment is *testimony*. There are many facts, that will not admit an appeal to the senses. All human actions, when considered as already past, are of this description. As from the other two grounds are deduced scientific and natural knowledge, so from this we derive *historical*, by which is meant not only a knowledge of the civil transactions of states and kingdoms, but of all

the evidence of witnesses is the ground of our

f assembling our ideas together, and joining or disuniting them according to the result of our perceptions, is called judgment; but when these judgments are expressed by words, they are called propositions. A *proposition* therefore is a sentence denoting some judgment, whereby two or more ideas are affirmed to agree or disagree. The idea of which we affirm or deny any thing, and of course the term expressing that idea, is called the *subject* of the proposition. The idea affirmed or denied, as also the term expressing it, is called the *predicate;* and that word which in a proposition connects these two ideas is called the *copula;* and if a negative particle be annexed, we thereby understand that the ideas are disjoined. The substantive verb is commonly employed as the copula, as in this proposition; "God *is* omnipotent;" where the verb substantive represents the copula, and signifies the agreement of the ideas of God and omnipotence. But if it be our intention to separate two ideas, then, in addition to the verb substantive, we must also employ some particle of negation, to express this repugnance. The proposition "man is not perfect" may serve as an example of this kind; where the notion of perfection being removed from the idea of man, the negative particle *not* is inserted after the copula, to signify the disagreement between the subject and the predicate.

Propositions are *affirmative* and *negative*, *universal* and *particular*, *absolute* and *conditional*, *simple* and *compound*, and are generally divisible into *self-evident* and *demonstrable*.

When the mind joins two ideas, we call it an *affirmative judgment;* when it separates them, we denominate it a *negative judgment;* and as any two ideas compared together must necessarily either agree or disagree, it is evident that all our judgments are included in these two divisions. Hence likewise the propositions expressing these judgments are all either affirmative, or negative. An affirmative proposition connects the predicate with the subject, as "a stone is heavy;" a negative proposition separates them, as "God is not the author of evil." Affirmation, therefore is the same as joining two ideas together, and this is done by means of the copula. Negation, on the contrary, denotes a repugnance between the ideas compared; in which case, a negative particle must be employed, to show that the connexion included in the copula does not take place.

Our ideas according to what has been already observed, are all single as they enter the mind, and represent individual objects. But as by abstraction we can render them universal, so as to comprehend a whole class of things, and sometimes several classes at once, the terms expressing these ideas must be in like manner universal. Thus when we say, "men are mortal," we consider mortality not as confined to one, or any number of particular men, but as what may be affirmed without exception of the whole species. By this means the proposition becomes as general as the idea which is its subject; and indeed derives its universality entirely from that idea being more or less so, according as it may be extended to a smaller or greater number of individuals.

A particular proposition has some general term for it subject, but with a mark of limitation added, to denote that the predicate agrees only with some of the individuals comprehended under a species, or with one or more of the species belonging to a genus, and not with the whole uinversal idea. Thus, "some stones are heavier than iron;" "some men have an uncommon share of folly." In the last of these propositions the subject "some men" implies only a certain number of individuals comprehended under a single species.

We may observe therefore, that all propositions are either affirmative or negative; nor is it less evident, that in both cases they may be universal or particular. Hence arises that celebrated fourfold division of them into *universal affirmative*, and *universal negative*, *particular affirmative*, *and particular negative*, which comprehends all their varieties. The utility of this mode of distinction will appear more evident, when we come to speak of reasoning and syllogism.

Propositions are either *absolute* or *conditional*. The absolute are those, wherein we affirm some property inseparable from the idea of the subject, and which therefore belongs to it in all possible cases; as "God is infinitely wise," —"Virtue tends to the ultimate happiness of man." But when the predicate is not necessarily connected with the idea of the subject, unless upon some consideration distinct from that idea, then the proposition is called conditional. The reason of the name is taken from the supposition annexed, and may be expressed as such; thus—"If a stone is exposed to the rays of the sun, it will contract some degree of heat."

Nothing is more important in the acquisition of accurate knowledge, than a due attention to this division of propositions. If we are careful never to affirm things absolutely, but when the ideas are inseparably united; and if in our other judgments we distinctly mark the conditions, which determine the predicate to belong to the subject, we shall be less liable to mistake in applying general truths to particular concerns of human life.

Propositions, when only two ideas are compared together, are in general called *simple*, because, having but one subject and one predicate, they are the effect of a single judgment, which admits of no subdivision. But if several ideas present themselves to our thoughts at once so that we are led to affirm the same thing of different objects, or different things of the same object, the propositions expressing these judgments are called *compound;* because they may be resolved into as many others, as there are subjects or predicates in the whole complex determination of the mind. Thus, "God is infinitely wise and infinitely powerful:" here there are two predicates, "infinite wisdom" and "infinite power," both affirmed of the same subject: and accordingly the proposition may be resolved into two others, which distinctly affirm these predicates.

When any proposition is presented to the mind, if the terms in which it is expressed be understood upon comparing the ideas together, the agreement or disagreement asserted is either immediately perceived or found to be too remote from the present reach of the understanding. In the first case the proposition is said to be *self-evident*, and requires no proof whatever; because a bare attention to the ideas themselves produces full conviction and certainty. But if the connexion or repugnance comes not so readily under the inspection of the mind we must have recourse to reasoning; and if by a clear series of proofs we can ascertain the truth proposed, insomuch that self evidence shall accompany every step of the argument, we are then able to prove our assertion, and the proposition is said to be *demonstrable*. When we affirm, for instance, "that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be," whoever understands the terms used, perceives at the first glance the truth of what is asserted, nor can he bring himself to believe the contrary. But if we say, "this world had a beginning," the assertion is, indeed, equally true, but shines not forth with the same degree of evidence. We find great difficulty in conceiving how the world could be created out

of nothing, and are not brought to a full assent to the assertion, until by reasoning we arrive at a clear view of the absurdity involved in the contrary supposition. Hence this proposition is of the kind we call demonstrable, inasmuch as its truth is not immediately perceived, but yet may be made evident, by means of others more known and obvious, whence it follows as an unavoidable consequence.

III. REASONING. It frequently happens, in comparing our ideas together, that their agreement or disagreement cannot be discerned at first sight, especially if they are of such a nature, as not to admit of an exact application to each other. It therefore becomes necessary to discover some third idea, which will admit of such an application, as the present case requires; wherein if we succeed, all difficulties vanish and the relation we are in search of may be traced with ease. This manner of determining the relation between any two ideas by the intervention of a third, with which they may be compared, is what we call *reasoning*, and is indeed the chief instrument, by which we extend our discoveries, and enlarge our knowledge. The great art consists in finding out such intermediate ideas, as, when compared with the others in the question, will furnish evident truths; because it is only by such means we can arrive at the knowledge of what is concealed and remote.

As in the second part of logic, our judgments, when expressed by words, were called *propositions;* so here in the third part, the expressions of our reasoning are termed *syllogisms.* By a syllogism is meant *an argument consisting of three propositions, so disposed, as that the last is necessarily inferred from the two which precede it.*

In the composition of a syllogism two things are to be considered, viz. its matter and its form. The matter consists of three propositions composed of three ideas or terms variously joined. These three terms are called the *major*, the *minor*, and the *middle.* The predicate of the conclusion is called the major term, because it is commonly of a larger compass and more general signification than the minor term, or subject of the conclusion. The major and minor terms are called the *extremes.* The middle term is the third idea disposed in two propositions, in such a manner as to show the connexion between the major and minor terms in the conclusion, for which reason the middle term itself is sometimes called the *argument.* The proposition, which contains the predicate of the conclusion connected with the middle term, is usually called the major proposi-

tion; whereas the minor proposition connects the middle term with the subject of the conclusion, and is sometimes called the *assumption*. These rules are chiefly applicable to simple or categorical syllogisms, although every syllogism contains something analogous to them*.

Compound syllogisms are composed of two or more single ones, and may be resolved into them: the chief kinds are the *epichirema*, the *dilemma*, and the *sorites*. These figures are liable to abuse, and are often more specious than solid. The *epichirema* is an argument, which contains the proof of the major and the minor or both, before it draws the conclusion. This is frequently used in writing, in public speeches, and in common conversation, in order that each part of the discourse may be confirmed, and put out of doubt, as it proceeds towards the conclusion, which was chiefly designed. Thus the oration of Cicero, for Milo, may be reduced to this figure. "It is lawful for a person to kill those who lie in wait to kill him, as is allowed by the law of nature, and the practice of mankind. But Clodius lay in wait for Milo with that intention, as appears from his guard of soldiers and his travelling armed; therefore it was lawful for Milo to kill Clodius." The *dilemma* divides the whole argument into all its parts or members by a disjunctive proposition, and then infers something concerning each part, which is finally inferred concerning the whole. Thus Cicero argues to prove, that all pain ought to be borne with patience. "All pain is either violent or slight; if it be slight, it may easily be endured; if violent, it will certainly be short; therefore all pain ought to be borne with patience." But for this figure to be correct two things are required, 1. the full enumeration of all the particulars of a subject; 2. that it press the opponent only, and not be liable to be retorted upon the person who uses it. In the *sorites* several middle terms are used to connect one another successively in several propositions, till the last proposition connects its predicate with the first subject. Such is the jocular argument of Themistocles to prove that his little son governed the whole world. "My son governs his mother, his mother governs me: I govern the Athenians, the Athenians all Greece; Greece commands Europe, and Europe the world."

There is one kind of syllogism which is defective, and is called an *enthymem*, because only the conclusion with one

* Watt's Logic, p. 281, 301, &c.

of the premises is expressed, whilst the other is reserved in the mind. This forms the most common kind of argument, both in conversation and in writing; for it would require too much time to draw out all our thoughts in regular order, according to mood and figure. Besides, we pay so much respect to the understanding of others, as to suppose that they are acquainted with the major or minor, which is suppressed or implied, when we state the other premises, and the conclusion.

With respect to the nature of *sophistry*, or *false reasoning*, and the best methods of detecting its various artifices to impose upon the understanding, the popular treaties upon this subject, particularly *Logic, or the right use of Reason*, by Watts, and *the Conduct of the Understanding*, by Locke,* may be consulted to great advantage.

From the short survey we have taken, it appears, that logic, beginning with the first principles of thought, ascends gradually from one decision of the judgment to another, and connects these decisions in such a manner, that every stage of the progression brings intuitive certainty with it. It appears likewise that reason is the ability of deducing unknown truths from propositions that are already known; and that no proposition is admitted into a syllogism, as one of the previous judgments upon which the conclusion rests, unless it is itself a known and established truth, and the connexion of which with self-evident principles has been already traced.

If Aristotle was not the first, who reduced logic to a system, he was certainly the most eminent of logicians.† He claims the invention of the whole theory of syllogisms. He analysed them with astonishing subtlety, exhibited them to view in every shape, enacted the laws by which they are regulated, and invented all the forms into which they can be moulded. All subsequent writers upon the subject of dialectics have been indebted to him for nearly the whole of their systems. But after mankind had involved themselves in the labyrinths of Aristotelian disputation for near two thousand years, and perplexed their understandings to little purpose, the great lord Bacon proposed the method of induction, as a more effectual means of arriving at truth.‡

* See particularly Section 42.

† For a very clear account of Aristotle and his works, see his Ethics and Politics by Dr. Gillies, 2 vol. 4to. 1797.

‡ Lord Bacon's general plan will be fully explained in the following chapter.

By *Induction* is meant *a general inference drawn from several particular propositions*. This method has contributed very materially to the improvement of the arts, and the increase of knowledge, more particularly in the researches of natural philosophy. Upon the *use* of induction as applied to the general discovery of truth, the ingenious author of "The Chart and Scale of Truth" makes this excellent remark. "As induction is the first, so it is the most essential and fundamental instrument of reasoning: for as syllogism can never produce its own principles, it must have them from induction; and, if the general propositions, or secondary principles, be imperfectly or infirmly established, and much more if they be taken at hazard, upon authority, or by arbitrary assumption, like those of Aristotle, all the syllogising in the world is a vain and useless logomachy, only instrumental to the multiplication of false learning, and to the invention and confirmation of error. The truth of syllogisms depends ultimately on the truth of axioms, and the truth of axioms on the soundness of inductions*."

IV. The fourth operation of the mind relates to the arrangement of our thoughts, when we endeavour to unite them in such a manner, that their mutual connexion and dependence may be clearly seen. To this operation the logicians give the name of METHOD; and in the course of their development of the powers of the understanding, they assign to it the last place.

In the arrangement of our thoughts, either for our own use, or when we intend to communicate and unfold our discoveries to others, there are two modes of proceeding, which are equally in our power to choose: for we may so propose the truths relating to any subject of inquiry or part of knowledge, as they presented themselves to the mind, and carry on the series of proofs in a reverse order, until they at last terminate in first principles: or, beginning with these principles, we may adopt the contrary method, and from them deduce, by a direct train of reasoning, all the propositions we desire to establish. From this diversity in the manner of arranging our thoughts originates the two fold division of method. When truths are so proposed, and put together as they were, or might have been discovered, this is called the *analytic method*, or the method of

* Chart and Scale of Truth, vol. i, p. 50. Syllogismus ex propositionibus constat, propositiones ex verbis, verba notionum tesseræ sunt. Itaque si notiones ipsæ (id quod basis rei est) confusæ sint & temere a rebus abstractæ, nihil in iis quæ superstruuntur est firmitudinis. Itaque spes est una in inductione vera. Baconi Novum Organ: vol. i. p. 275.

resolution; inasmuch as it traces things backward to their source, and resolves knowledge into its constituent parts, or in other words, into its first and original principles. When, on the other hand, they are deduced from these principles, and connected according to their mutual dependence, so that the truths first in order tend always to the demonstration of those that follow; this constitutes what is called the *synthetic method*, or method of composition. For we proceed by collecting the scattered parts of knowledge, and combining them into one system in such a manner, that the understanding is enabled distinctly to follow truth through all her different stages and gradations.

These two kinds of method admit of very easy illustration. In grammar, for instance, we first acquire the knowledge of letters, we combine them to make syllables, of syllables are composed words, and of words sentences and discourses.—This is synthetic method. But if we are better acquainted with the whole of a subject, than with any of its particular parts, we separate the whole into those parts, and thus gain a distinct knowledge of them. We know superficially, and by common observation, what plants are: but it is by the information which botany gives that we become conversant with their component parts, and distinguish the calix, the pistils, the stamina, the corolla, species, genera, &c. We may likewise have a general notion of an animal: but it is by the study of anatomy we gain a particular knowledge of its bones, veins, cartilages, and other parts.—This is analytic method. Watts's Logic, p. 340.

The analytic method has obtained the name of the method of *invention*, because it observes the order, in which our thoughts succeed each other in the discovery of truth. The scynthetic is often denominated the method of *instruction*, inasmuch as in communicating our thoughts to others, we generally choose to deduce them from their first principles.

The four divisions of logic correspond with what we find passes naturally in our minds, and tend not only to facilitate the discovery, but to increase the love of TRUTH. By truth is here meant *the agreement of our ideas with the real state of things*, and as Wollaston well observes, "it is the offspring of unbroken meditations, and of thoughts often revised and corrected." This love is the most exalted principle of the human mind, and prompts us to its sublimest employments. It is pure, sincere, and intrinsi-

eally excellent; it frees us from the mists of prejudice, the fluctuations of doubt, and the perplexity of error. It is uninfluenced by the fear of man, the desire of praise, or the lustre of riches or power; and, as its greatest honour and most sublime purpose, it exalts our soul to a resemblance of the Author of nature himself, who is the fountain of light, happiness, and perfection. Where nothing influences, nothing agitates, nothing dazzles us in comparison with this love of truth, we become gradually more and more attentive, circumspect, and eager for solid proof and clear evidence; and we leave no methods untried, that may conduct us to right and just conclusions. If such be the ardour of the mind in pursuit of this inestimable treasure, how valuable must logic be, which is the instrument of its operations, and the clue to its discoveries! "However destined to be the guide of men, this truth is not bestowed with an unconditional profusion, but is hidden in darkness, and involved in difficulties; intended, like all the other gifts of heaven, to be sought and cultivated by all the different powers and exertions of human reason." Chart and Scale of Truth, vol. i, p. 14.

After having acquired a proper knowledge of the distinctions marked out by logic in our ideas, and after having made ourselves acquainted with the rules prescribed for the exercise and the general improvement of our understanding, we ought to direct our attention to those authors, who have given the best examples of close and accurate reasoning. These examples should be interesting with respect to the nature of their subjects, that the scholar may be led to make a pleasing and easy application of the preceding principles. He will find them fully illustrated in the works of Bacon, Grotius, Locke, Clarke, and Paley. These profound and illustrious teachers will amply recompense his researches, and enlarge his knowledge, by giving him a clear and comprehensive insight into the most interesting topics. They will point out not only the proper employment of his reason, but its limits and boundaries. They will instruct him in its use and application to the sublime doctrines of revelation "They will convince him, that reason is not injured or disturbed, but assisted and improved by new discoveries of truth, coming from the eternal fountain of all knowledge." Locke, book iv, chap. 18.

It is the office of the logician to curb the sallies of the imagination, and keep it under the control and direction of reason. He must take care not to be too scrupulous in

balancing probabilities, in indulging the refinements of subtlety, in being sceptical on the one hand, or dogmatical on the other; as these are great obstacles to the advancement of useful knowledge, and the successful and expeditious management of business. In order to think with correctness, and act with energy, it is necessary to be furnished with good leading principles, and to proceed to every conclusion with cautious steps. The early discipline of reason, and the formation of regular habits of reflection, will greatly conduce to these purposes: and the chief end of logic is to invigorate this attention, and to confirm these habits.

Having thus endeavoured to point out THE APPLICATION OF RIGHT REASON to the discovery of truth, we may finally proceed to examine its *moral* effects; and to ask, in what particular mode of conduct we may see it most exercised, and best illustrated?

The answer to this question will lead us to consider its influence upon the different periods of human life. He who in his youth improves his intellectual powers in the pursuit of useful knowledge, and refines and strengthens his mind by the love of virtue and religion, for the service of his friends, his country, and mankind;—who is animated by true glory, exalted by pure friendship for social, and softened by virtuous love for domestic life; who to all these adds a sober and a masculine piety, equally remote from superstition and enthusiasm; that man enjoys the most agreeable youth, and accumulates the richest fund for the happy enjoyment of his maturer years.

He who in manhood keeps his passions and his imagination under due control; who forms the most select and virtuous friendships; who pursues fame, wealth, and power, only in the road of honour; who in his private conduct gives fullest scope to the tender and manly affections, and in his public character serves his country in the most upright and disinterested manner; who enjoys the goods of life with the greatest moderation, bears its ills with becoming fortitude; and in the various circumstances of duty and trial, maintains and expresses an habitual reverence and love of God; that man is the worthiest character in this stage of life, passes through it with the highest satisfaction and dignity, and paves the way to the most easy and honourable old age.

Finally; he who in the decline of life preserves himself most free from chagrin incident to that period, cherishes the kindest and most regular affections, uses his experience

and authority in a tender and judicious manner, acts under a sense of the inspection, and with a view to the approbation of his Maker; is daily aspiring after immortality, and ripening fast for its joys; and having sustained his part with consistency to the closing scene of life, quits the stage with a modest and graceful dignity; this is the best, the wisest, and the happiest old man. Dodsley's Preceptor, vol. ii, p. 379, &c.

Therefore the whole of youth, manhood, and old age, which is spent in this manner, is the best and happiest life, —the genuine result of RIGHT REASON.

They who thus conduct themselves are sensible that virtue is the best exercise and greatest improvement of their understandings, and constitutes the health, stength, and beauty of the mind. They are convinced that every deviation from this standard has a tendency to vice, misery, and folly; and that every advance towards it is an approach to wisdom, perfection, and happiness. The advantages, which such persons derive from logic in the improvement of their minds, and the regulation of their conduct, shows its most important use and entitles it to the highest praise.

CHAPTER II.

THE MATHEMATICS.

"NATURE, says Mr. Bonnycastle, bountiful and wise in all things, has provided us with an infinite variety of scenes, both for our instruction and entertainment; and, like a kind and indulgent parent, admits all her children to an equal participation of her blessings. But, as the modes, situations, and circumstances of life are various, so accident, habit, and education, have each their predominating influence, and give to every mind its particular bias. Where examples of excellence are wanting, the attempts to attain it are few; but eminence excites attention, and produces imitation. To raise the curiosity, and to awaken the listless and dormant powers of younger minds, we have only to point out to them a valuable acquisition, and the means of obtaining it. The active principles are immediately put into motion, and the certainty of the conquest is ensured from a determination to conquer. Of all

the sciences which serve to call forth this spirit of enterprise and inquiry, there is none more eminently useful than the mathematics. By an early attachment to these elegant and sublime studies we acquire a habit of reasoning, and an elevation of thought, which fixes the mind, and prepares it for every other pursuit. From a few simple axioms, and evident principles, we proceed gradually to the most general propositions, and remote analogies: deducing one truth from another, in a chain of argument well connected and logically pursued; which brings us at last, in the most satisfactory manner, to the conclusion, and serves as a general direction in all our inquiries after truth."

"And it is not only in this respect that mathematical learning is so highly valuable; it is likewise equally estimable for its practical utility. Almost all the works of art, and devices of man, have a dependence upon its principles, and are indebted to it for their origin and perfection. The cultivation of these admirable sciences is therefore a thing of the utmost importance, and ought to be considered as a principal part of every liberal and well regulated plan of education. They are the guide of our youth, the perfection of our reason, and the foundation of every great and noble undertaking."

Mathematics are calculated to produce effects highly beneficial to the mind. They make us fix our attention steadily upon the objects placed before us, and are therefore very properly recommended as the best remedy to cure an unsteady and volatile disposition. They teach us a method of clear and methodical reasoning, and coincide both in principles and rules with sound logic. They give a manly vigour to our understanding, and free us from doubt and uncertainty on the one hand, and credulity and rash presumption on the other. They incline us to a due assent conformable to the nature of things, and subject us to the government of strict reason. These studies are calculated to teach exactness and perspicuity in definition, connexion and conclusiveness in argument, carefulness in observation, patience in meditation; and from no exercises can the scholar go better prepared and disciplined to the pursuit of the higher branches of knowledge. The benefit to be derived from them is thus stated by Mr. Locke: "I have mentioned mathematics as a way to settle in the mind a habit of reasoning closely, and in train; not that I think it necessary that all men should be deep mathematicians; but that having got the way of reasoning, which that study necessarily brings the mind to, they might be able to transfer

it to other parts of knowledge, as they shall have occasion."*

The greatest perspicuity is found to prevail in every part of these researches. By reasonings founded upon lines and figures represented to the eye, the clearest truths are conveyed to the understanding. In one respect these studies claim the pre-eminence over all others; they reach the highest degree of evidence, by *which a position is not only proved to be true, but the contrary position is reduced to an absurdity—This is demonstration.*

"Such is the method of science, in which reason advances by a sublime intellectual motion from the simplest axioms to the most complicated speculation, and exhibits truth springing out of its first and purest elements, and rising from story to story in a most elegant progressive way into a luminous and extensive fabric. The certainty of self evidence attends it through every stage, and every link of the mathematical chain is of equal, that is, the utmost strength." Tatham's Chart and Scale of Truth, vol. i, p. 117.

The name of *mathematics* was originally intended either to denote by way of eminence the high rank, which the sciences hold in the order of intellectual discipline, on account of their peculiar clearness and utility; or it was designed to convey an idea of their extent, as containing every kind of useful knowledge. According to their proper definition, they constitute *the science of quantity, either as subject to measure or number.* Their various branches are adapted to the common uses of life, and to the deepest and most abstract speculations. They are *pure* and *mixed.* The former consider quantity abstractedly, without any regard to *matter*, or particular bodies; the latter treat of quantity as subsisting in bodies, and consequently they are intermixed with the consideration of physics, or experimental philosophy.

Pure mathematics are Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Fluxions: *mixed* consist chiefly of Mechanics, Pneumatics, Hydrostatics, Optics, and Astronomy.

1. The experience of every day proves the utility of the art, which teaches the properties of numbers, and the method of employing them in all calculations with ease and expedition. The nations, which want *arithemetic*, as is the case with some tribes of American savages, who can scarcely reckon to twenty, are sunk in the lowest ignorance and

* Conduct of the Understanding, vol. i, p. 339. "In geometria partem fatentur esse utilem teneris ætatibus: agitari namque animos, atque acui ingenia, et celeritatem percipiendi venire inde concedunt." Quint. lib. i, c. 10.

barbarism. It is not only the indispensable instrument of private accounts and commerce, but it lays the only just foundation for political knowledge, as to the population, revenues, balance of trade, coinage, and military power of nations.

2. *Algebra* is an Arabic word; and is that peculiar kind of calculation, in which the known as well as the unknown quantities are expressed by the letters of the alphabet. It is the art of computing by symbols. Algebra is one of the most important and useful branches of pure mathematics, and may be justly considered the key to all the rest. Geometry delights us by the simplicity of its principles and the elegance of its demonstrations. Arithemetic is confined in its object, and partial in its application. But algebra, or the analytic art, is general and comprehensive, and may be applied with success in all cases where truth is to be obtained, and proper data can be established.

To trace this science to its origin, and to point out the various alterations and improvements which it has received, would exceed the limits of this work. It is of the highest antiquity, and has obtained the praise of all ages. The Greeks were acquainted with it, and applied it to the solution of certain curious and difficult problems; but it is to the moderns that we are principally indebted for the improvements of the art, and its great and extensive usefulness in every abstruse inquiry.

Algebra ought to be learned before geometry, because it facilitates the study of geometry; but geometry does not facilitate the study of algebra.

3. *Geometry*, whether derived from the Egyptians, or the Greeks, was originally, as its name denotes, the art of measuring the earth, or any distances or dimensions within it. In its present acceptation, it signifies *the science of magnitude in general.* Its application to the use and ornament of mankind is very important and extensive. Furnished with this assistance, geographers are enabled to ascertain the magnitude of the terraqueous globe, the extent of oceans, and the various divisions of the earth. Hence architects derive their just measures and proportions for the construction of all kinds of buildings. By its assistance likewise surveyors measure land, and delineate the plans of towns. Hence fortification derives its strength, security, and systematic regularity, in the erection of forts, batteries, and all other military works; and hence the general is best enabled to draw the lines of regular encampments, or arrange his army in the most advantageous order of battle. From

geometry is acquired an exact knowledge of perspective, and accuracy is given to maps and charts.

Trigonometry is a part of geometry, and is the art of finding the dimensions of the sides and angles of a triangle. It supplies fundamental rules for ascertaining every degree of distance and altitude. Without its aid, the magnitude of the earth, and the heavenly bodies, their distances, motions, and eclipses, would be utterly unknown. Its assistance is necessary to dialling, geography, navigation, and astronomy.

4. The most extensive, ingenious, and subtile of all the branches of pure mathematics are fluxions, which were entirely unknown to the ancients. They were invented by Sir Isaac Newton, one of the greatest mathematicians and philosophers that any age or nation has produced. Newton and Leibnitz contended for the honour of the invention, and it is probable that they both had made some progress in this new science before either knew what the other had done.

By means of fluxions we can resolve the most abtruse problems in pure and mixed mathematics. Since this noble invention some of the grand phenomena of the universe have been explained, and mechanical philosophy has attained a degree of perfection which algebra and geometry were not able to accomplish. This doctrine has been applied by mathematicians to a variety of useful and important objects. The uses of fluxions are so many and so various that we cannot enumerate them in this work.

The doctrine of fluxions is founded upon this principle, that all magnitudes or quantities are supposed to be generated by motion. Thus, a line is supposed to be generated by the motion of a point, a surface by the motion of a line, and a solid by the motion of a surface. Algebra and geometry lend their aid to this sublime science.

Mixed mathematics, which constitute the pleasing and instructive branches of experimental philosophy, are next to be considered.

I. *Mechanics* is that science which treats of the motion and equilibrium of bodies. There are six simple instruments, which are called the mechanical powers; and by their combination, all machines, however complicated, are constructed. Their names are—*the lever, the wheel and axle, the pulley, the inclined plane, the wedge, and the screw.* However small the strength of man, considered in itself, may appear, his ingenuity has supplied him with the means of remedying its defects: by the friendly aid of the mechanical powers he is enabled to conquer the obstacles, which

are opposed to him; to subdue, or to arm himself with the elements; and to make air, water, and fire, subservient to the purposes of his necessity, or his ornament. Skill in mechanics constitutes the great distinction between savage and civilized life, whether we consider their application to minute or to great objects, as aiding the ingenious artist in the construction of a clock or watch, or as assisting in driving down the piles for the foundation of a bridge, in boring cannon of the largest calibre, raising the ponderous anchor from the bottom of the ocean, working the complicated steam engine with the greatest effect, or investigating the motions of the celestial bodies.

II. *Pneumatics* relates to the nature and properties of the air: of this thin, compressible, dilatable and transparent fluid, few properties are known without the assistance of mechanics and geometry. Its elastic force, pressure, and weight have been discovered by experiments. The knowledge of these properties has led to many others equally surprising and useful, such as the gradual decrease of the density of the air in proportion to the distance from the surface of the earth, its various kinds, its essential service in the support of life, and the altitude of the atmosphere, which surrounds the globe.

III. The science of *Hydrostatics*, in its most extensive sense, teaches the pressure, equilibrium, and motion of fluids. To it belongs whatever relates to the resistance of fluids, with the art of weighing bodies, such as metals, minerals, &c. in water, in order to ascertain their specific gravity. It is of great use to mankind in the arts of life. To the sciences of pneumatics and hydrostatics we owe the pump, the fire engine, canals, aqueducts, &c.

IV. *Optics* is that science which treats of the nature and properties of light, and the various phenomena of vision. It is divided into *catoptrics* and *dioptrics*; the former of which treats of *reflected*, and the latter of *refracted* light; and they combine to instruct mankind in the management of this subtile fluid for the useful purposes of life. Upon the principles of optics are formed those glasses, which assist the short-sighted, and remedy the infirmity of age, with respect to vision. This useful branch of science likewise supplies the defects of the naked eye, by the application of microscopes to examine the most minute, and of telescopes to survey the most distant bodies.

V. Of all the sciences, to which geometry imparts the solidity of its principles, and the clearness of its proofs the

most beautiful and the most sublime is *astronomy*. This is perhaps the most exact and most definite part of natural philosophy; for it rectifies the errors of sight, with respect to the apparent motions of the planets: explains the just dimensions, relative distances, due order, and exact proportions of the spherical bodies, which compose the solar system. Nor is it even confined to these great objects of nature, since it opens the stupendous prospect of other suns, and other systems of planets, scattered over the boundless regions of space, and moving in obedience to their respective laws. It marks out their particular places, assigns their various names, and classes all the systems of worlds in their respective constellations. The calculations of astronomy prove the certainty of the future phenomena of the heavenly bodies; the various phases of the moon; the places of the planets; the point of time when the sun and moon will be immersed in the partial, or the total darkness of an eclipse. These sublime truths are established upon such evidence, and the calculations upon which they proceed are marked with such accuracy, as incontestably to prove the solid basis upon which this most wonderful of the sciences is founded.

Navigation, which depends entirely for the certainty of its principles upon astronomy and geometry, is so noble an art, to which mankind owe so many advantages, that on this account these sciences ought to be particularly studied, and merit the greatest encouragement, especially in a nation indebted to it for its riches, security, and glory. And not only does the ordinary art of navigation in the direction of the course of vessels depend upon mathematics, but whatever improvements are made in ship building.

Mathematical studies have been held in honour, and cultivated with diligence, wherever polite learning has flourished. The remaining works of Archimedes attest the profundity of his genius; and the wonderful and destructive effects related of his burning glasses, when Syracuse was besieged by the Romans, are confirmed by modern experiments. By the Grecian philosophers in general these studies were regarded as forming an essential part of a liberal education. They were taught to the eminent scholars of Pythagoras. Plato allayed the warmth of a poetical fancy by these pursuits, and denied admittance into his school to those who were not conversant with geometry. He earnestly recommended arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy as excellent preparatives to all other studies, and

as more immediately useful to those who were intended for the public offices of the state. Aristotle illustrated the rules of his logic and the precepts of his ethics by arithmetical and geometrical proportions. At the time when the elegant arts were gaining ground in Rome, Cæsar found his most agreeable relaxation from the tumults of war, and the business of a camp, in reforming the calendar, and tracing amid the stillness of the night the courses of the planets, as they revolved in the clear hemispheres of Egypt and Gaul. The decline of science marked the continuance of the dark ages; during which theology consisted in absurd dogmas and gross superstition, and confused and unintelligible systems dishonoured the name of philosophy*.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

THE detail of those who, in modern times, have followed mathematical studies with ardour, and united useful discoveries to scientific researches, constitutes the history of some of the greatest efforts of the human mind.

Nicholas Copernicus was born at Thorn, a city of Prussia, in 1473. Dissatisfied with the reigning system of Ptolemy, who placed the earth in the centre of the universe, he revived the very ancient opinion which had been taught by Pythagoras nineteen centuries before in the schools of Magna Græcia. He derived his information respecting the astronomical doctrines of the great philosopher of Samos from the academical questions of Cicero, and the works of Plutarch, as he acknowledged in the dedication of his works to Pope Paul the third. Copernicus maintained that the sun was placed in the centre of the universe, and that Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn revolving each upon its axis, move round the sun from west to east. The different revolutions of these six planets are proportioned to their respec-

* The preceding account of mathematics is very concise and defective. The reader must examine the best mathematical books in the list at the end of this volume.

tive distances from the sun, and the circles which they describe cut the ecliptic in different points*. The earth completes its revolution in the space of a year, in a circle which includes the orbit of Venus, and is included by the orbit of Mars. It has another revolution upon its axis in twenty-four hours, and by this movement the distinctions of day and night are produced. The moon, an inferior planet, attendant on the earth, moves round it in an elliptic orbit, and revolves upon her own axis exactly in the time she goes round the earth. The heavens which form the spacious fields of ether are immoveable, and the stars are fixed in them at an immense distance from the sun†.—Such is the *Copernican system*, the glory of modern philosophy, and the basis of the subsequent observations of astronomers.

Kepler, born at Weil, in Saxony, in 1571, was the friend of Tycho Brahe, and the associate of his astronomical studies. He has rendered his name illustrious in the annals of science by developing the laws which regulate the motions of the planets. Assisted by the observations of the Danish philosopher, he made the following discoveries. I. That the six primary planets move round the sun not in circles, but in ellipses, having the sun in one of the foci. II. That the planets describe round the sun equal areas in equal times. III. That the squares of the periodical times, in which the planets revolve round the sun, are as the cubes of their mean distances from him. This discovery is found to be of great use in astronomical calculations, for if the periodical times of two planets be given, and the distance of one of them from the centre; the other may be found by the rule of proportion.

The name of *Bacon* occurs a second time in the English history connected with the progress and contributing to the honour of science. *Sir Francis Bacon*, Baron Verulam, early distinguished in the court of Elizabeth by his wit, and afterwards disgraced in that of James the First, by the corruption which he either practised, or allowed, was the great projector of a plan for conducting the researches of philosophy upon the most comprehensive principles. He proposed to substitute experiment for theory, and laid the foundation of the solid and stupendous pyramid of human knowledge, which rises from earth to heaven in due proportion and regular order. Its foundation is the history of

* The planets revolve round the sun in elliptical orbits or paths.
† This is erroneous.

the works of nature, its second stage her true principles and various powers; and its summit obscured by clouds, scarcely penetrable by mortal eye, approaches even to the great Creator himself.

To understand the full meaning of this figurative allusion, it may be necessary to give some general view of his principal works, viz. his *Advancement of Learning*—*de Augmentis Scientiarum*—and *Novum Organum*.

In his "Advancement of Learning," he has laid down the principles of genuine philosophy, not founded upon hypothesis and conjecture, but truth and experience. His plan required him to take an accurate review of the state of learning. That he might not be bewildered in a subject so complex and extensive, he has arranged the numerous arts according to the three great faculties of the mind—memory, imagination, and judgment, under three classes—history, poetry, and philosophy. These may be considered as the principal trunks, from which shoot forth all the smaller branches of science. Whatever he found to be imperfect or erroneous, he has pointed out, together with the best means of improvement. At the end of this treatise, he has traced, in one general chart, the several provinces of science that were neglected, or unknown.

The design of the "Novum Organum," which forms the second and most considerable part of the Advancement of Learning, was to raise and enlarge the powers of the mind by a useful application of reason to all the objects which philosophy considers. Thus does Lord Bacon present to the world a new and superior kind of logic, not intended to supply arguments for controversy, but truths for the use of mankind. It is an art inventive of arts, and productive of real, important, and new acquisitions of knowledge. It commonly rejects the use of syllogism, and substitutes a severe and genuine induction—an induction which examines scrupulously the subject in question, views it in all possible lights, excludes whatever does not necessarily belong to it, and then draws conclusions as to its real principles and properties. See p. 68, vol. ii. Many proofs may be brought to show how well this mode of inquiry has since succeeded, and how fruitful it has been in new discoveries. The great Newton applied it to the elucidation of the science of optics, and by a variety of experiments has analized the nature and properties of light, the most subtile of all known bodies, with accuracy and precision hardly to have been expected from an examination of

subjects the most gross and palpable. The method of induction has likewise been applied with great success to chemistry, botany, mineralogy, and other branches of science.

In order to preclude objections drawn from the supposed visionary nature, or novelty of his system, Lord Bacon treats in the third part of his instauration, on the "Phœnomena Universi"—this is intended to form a collection of materials towards a natural and experimental history. Such a work he thought indispensable, as without it the united endeavours of all mankind, in all ages, would be insufficient to rear, to complete the great structure of the sciences. His "Sylva Sylvarum" is a storehouse of materials, not arranged for ornament, but thrown together for the service of the philosopher, who may select such as suit his purpose, and with them, by the aid of his Novum Organum, build up some part of a self-evident philosophy, which is the crown, and completion of his system. If several eminent men following his steps in the road which he prepared for them, have advanced farther into the provinces of nature and science, and surveyed them with more attention, yet to him is due much of the honour of their discoveries. The fertile genius of Columbus imagined a new world, and he had the boldness to go in search of it, through an unexplored and immense ocean. He succeeded in his attempt, and conducted his followers to a spacious, rich and fruitful continent. If succeeding adventurers have penetrated farther into the same regions, and distinguished them with more accuracy, the progress of their discoveries ought to redound as much to his honour, as to their own.

Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and even Russia, have adopted Bacon as their guide in scientific researches, and submitted to be directed by his institutions. The empire which he has founded in the philosophical world, is as universal as the free use of reason; and the one will continue, until the other is no more*.

Our sketch of the scientific powers of these eminent men is more rapidly traced, that we may hasten to one, whose name diffuses a glory round his native country, and is ce-

* See the Tatler, No. 267, for one of the best characters of him ever written. My statement is taken from the very excellent life of Lord Bacon, prefixed to his works in folio, written by Mr. Mallet. See a good Analysis of Bacon's Novum Organum in Adam's Lectures, Lect. i.

lebrated throughout all those parts of the c
where the sciences have made any progress.

Isaac Newton was born at Woolstrope, in
in 1642, and studied at Trinity College, Car
progress in mathematics was rapid and astonishing. It was the rare quality of his mind to make science his own by intuition, for he is said to have comprehended the full force of Euclid's Theorems and Problems at the first perusal. Such was the early maturity of his intellect, that he had laid the foundation of his principal discoveries by the time he arrived at the age of twenty-four. He invented a new method of calculation, which greatly facilitates computations in the higher parts of mathematics. This most important science is called Fluxions. He contributed to the enlargement of geometry, by his Treatise on the Quadrature of Curves; and made still farther advancement towards the perfection of that branch of science in his incomparable *Principia*. Disdaining to impose upon mankind by unmeaning names, he allowed no place to hypothesis in his experimental philosophy, but confined himself for the illustration of his principles to induction alone. Whereever he directed his attention, the darkness of ignorance was dispelled, and the beams of demonstration enlightened his steps. To the certainty and precision of innumerable experiments, he united the strictness of close reasoning. He demonstrated that *gravity*, or some principle which causes heavy bodies to fall to the ground, or in more philosophical language, which makes matter tend to the centre, familiar by its effects to the observation of mankind, extended its influence throughout universal nature. It is essential to all bodies, retains the planets in their orbits, and reaches from the common centre of the sun to the most distant planet of our system, and probably through all space. He computed the distances, the magnitudes, the velocities, and the orbits, of the planets, weighed the revolving spheres, and measured the magnitude of the sun and the moon. He assigned the causes for the irregular course of the moon, and proved her influence combined with that of the sun over the vast ocean. Hence he was enabled to give to the world a new and consistent theory of the tides.

"The most popular and most celebrated of all his works is his *Philosophiæ Naturalis principia Mathematica*, first published in the year 1687. The general subject is, the doctrine of motion, the most considerable of all others, for

sublishing the first principles of philosophy by geometrical demonstration. By experiments made with the most accurate exactness, and observed with the nicest circumspection and sagacity, he first discovers what are the real phenomena of motion, arising from the natural powers of gravity, elasticity, and the resistance of fluids. Whence he rises by the assistance of his own sublime geometry, to investigate the true forces of these powers in nature, and then from those forces demonstrates the other phenomena, particularly in settling the system of the heavens; he shows in the first book what are the genuine effects of central forces, in all hypothesis whatsoever that can be framed concerning the laws of attraction; then from Kepler's rules and other astronomical and geographical observations, he shows what the particular laws of attraction are in nature, and proves that this attraction is every where the same as the terrestrial gravity, by the force of which all bodies tend to the sun, and to the several planets. Then from other demonstrations, which are also mathematical, he deduces the motion of the planets, the comets, the moon, and the sea." Biog. Brit. Article Newton.

Improving upon the discoveries of Kepler, Newton demonstrated that the planets were attracted towards the sun, as a common center; that the force of this attraction was reciprocally as the squares of their distances from this center; that they revolved in ellipses, having the sun in one of the foci, and that when bodies did so resolve in ellipses, the squares of their periodic times must necessarily vary as the cubes of their mean distances. See Vince's Astronomy, vol. i, p. 100.

Persevering with undiminished ardour in his philosophical labours, he determined the true figure of the earth; and the travels of the French academicians to measure the unequal length of a degree at the equator and the poles, served only to verify, by actual observation, the problem which he had solved in his closet. His speculations were not confined to our planetary system; for he extended them to all the stars that shine in the vast expanse of heaven. Every one, from analogy, was determined to be the centre of an harmonious system, subject to the same general laws as that of the sun.

In other branches of philosophy, he was greatly indebted to the previous investigations of others for a foundation, whereon to build his improvements; with respect however to his researches into the nature and properties of *light*,

he was the author of a new and beautiful theory. He calculated its velocity, as it flows in perpetual and rapid streams from the sun. He instructs us, that it is diffused through our planetary system, while its heat is diminished in proportion to the square of the distance from its source. He scrutinized its various properties, as well as the laws of its motion. By the aid of a triangular prism of well polished glass, he analysed its rays, and saw the rich and brilliant display of the seven primogenial colours of which light is composed. These colours appeared not strongly contrasted with each other, but melted by gentle gradations into the neighbouring tints.

"He from the whitening undistinguished blaze
Collecting every ray into his kind,
To the charmed eye educed the gorgeous train
Of parent colours. First the flaming *red*
Sprung vivid forth; the tawny *orange* next;
And next delicious *yellow*; by whose side
Fell the kind beams of all refreshing *green*,
Then the pure *blue*, that swells autumnal skies;
Ethereal play'd: and then of sadder hue
Emerged the deepened *indigo*, as when
The heavy skirted evening droops with frost.
While the last gleaming of refracted light
Died in the fainting *violet* away.
Thomson's Poem to the Memory of Sir I. Newton.

His active mind sought relaxation in researches into remote times: he applied astronomy to rectify the computations of chronology, and succeeded in referring the most remarkable transactions, that were obscured by remote antiquity, to the most probable periods of time. See the History of the Jews, vol. i. By the unwearied exercise of close and patient meditation upon deep mathematical learning, and a series of correct and accurate experiments, he carried his discoveries into the recesses of nature, and developed the sublime and simple laws of matter and of motion. That his insight into the constitution of the universe did not extend to any greater length, seems not so much to be attributed to the narrowness of his own capacity, as to the imperfection of human nature itself. He discovered the plain vestiges of the Creator in his works; and, filled with the most sublime conceptions of his power, wisdom, and goodness, he ever bowed with reverential awe at the mention of his adorable name. Genius, science, industry, and diffidence, combined to form this great philosopher; and his various exertions, as successful as they were tran-

scendent, displayed at once the depth, the extent, and the energy of his intellectual powers. Commencing his researches with plain and easy principles, and terminating them with the most sublime discoveries, the progress of his mind was like the mystic ladder in the vision of the patriarch, which reached from earth even to the footstool of God. It reflects no inconsiderable credit upon the understandings of men to comprehend the extent of his discoveries; and it is no small happiness to every person of a scientific turn of mind, to live subsequent to the age which he irradiated by his genius. And how pre-eminent is the glory of Britain to enroll in the list of her enlightened sons, the man who may be denominated the great interpreter of the laws of nature, and the brightest luminary of science!

Newton, with the diffidence of one, who was truly sensible of the limited powers of the human mind, advanced with slow and steady pace along the road of experiment, and ascended from certain effects, ascertained upon earth, to obscure causes, which were concealed in heaven. With an ardent and penetrating eye he looked abroad upon nature, discovered her genuine character, and, always acting under the control of a cautious and solid judgment, established no principles, which were not perfectly consistent with her real constitution. He thought it not beneath the dignity of his philosophical character to remark the slightest effects, aimed at certainty in particular pursuits; and had the merit, the glory, and the happiness, to be in every pursuit successful.

So justly does the Genius of Newton claim a conspicuous place in every discussion of mathematical subjects. Still however we are not so far dazzled by the lustre even of his name, or astonished by the extent and the variety of his discoveries, as to think that the works of nature are solely to be viewed through the medium of theorems and calculations. The works of the great Creator are not confined to abstract considerations of numbers and measures, as the sole criteria of their excellence. The sublime productions of Almighty power, the sun shining in meridian glory, the moon pouring her mild light upon the earth, the ocean rolling its vast floods, and the beautiful colours which diversify all objects, charm the heart, and please the fancy, by their external appearance, at least as much as an inquiry into their laws, nature, and constitution can satisfy the understanding.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WORKS OF NATURE.

IT is the glorious privilege of man, while other animals are confined within the limits which instinct has prescribed, to carry his observations beyond his own immediate wants, and to contemplate the universe at large. He extends his inquiries to all the objects which surround him, and exercises his judgment, and informs his understanding, by ascertaining their nature, properties, and uses. In the various branches of the mathematics, in the abstract speculations of metaphysics, or in searching the records of history, he is solely intent upon the operations of his own mind, or the actions of himself and his fellow creatures: but in the study of nature, he examines every object presented to his senses, and takes a general survey of the wide and interesting prospects of the creation. The earth he treads, the ocean he crosses, the air he breathes, the starry heavens on which he gazes, the mines and caverns he explores, all present to him abundant materials for his researches. And when thus employed, he is engaged in a manner peculiarly suitable to his faculties, since he alone is capable of knowledge, he alone is distinguished by the power of admiration, and exalted by the faculty of reason. The terraqueous globe presents a most glorious and most sublime prospect, equally worthy of the capacity of man to contemplate, and beautiful to his eye to behold. And the treasures of nature, which this prospect comprehends, are so rich and inexhaustible, that they may furnish employment for his greatest diligence, stimulated by the most ardent curiosity, and assisted by the most favourable opportunities. At the same time that she solicits him to follow her not only into her open walks, but likewise to explore her secret recesses, she fails not to reward him with the purest gratifications of the mind, because at every step he takes, new instances of beauty, variety, and perfection are unfolded to his view.

The study of the works of nature is in itself capable of affording the most refined pleasure, and the most edifying instruction. All the objects with which we are surrounded, the smallest as well as the greatest, teach us some useful lesson.

All of them speak a language directed to man, and to man alone. Their particular structure and formation convey to us a most pleasing and interesting truth. Their evident tendency to some determined end marks the design of a great Creator; and their mutual relations, both to us and to each other, are so manifest, as to point out the various links in the vast chain of creation. They have both a physical and a moral use: they enrich our lives with conveniencies, instruct our understandings with important truths, and warm our hearts with the most ardent gratitude to the supreme Being. The volume of creation is replete with wisdom; it contains the objects of arts, science, and philosophy, and is open to the inspection of all the inhabitants of the globe. Nature speaks by her works an universal language, the rudiments of which are peculiarly adapted to the inclination and capacity of the young, whose curiosity may be gratified and excited by turns: but more profound and extensive inquiries are suitable to the contemplation of persons of every age; and no subject can be more worthy of their attentive observation.

The different theories of the earth, the generation of animals, the first population of the world, the perceptive power of vegetables, and the internal structure of the globe, are subjects respectively supported by arguments, which may rather invite assent by their plausibility, than produce conviction by their evidence; and may perplex our minds without satisfying our judgment: but no one can survey the common phenomena of nature, the wonders of the heavenly bodies, and the productions of the earth and the ocean, without arriving at some accurate conclusions as to their origin and design, and without increasing pleasure at every new discovery.

It is the object of the naturalist to examine all the visible works of the creation; he is therefore employed in the most extensive province of human knowledge, as nature appears to have fixed no bounds to her productions. Still however, if no limits can be set to a subject so copious, it may at least be reduced into order. Philosophers have accordingly divided all the productions of the globe into three classes, which are denominated kingdoms; and comprehend, I. ANIMALS; II. VEGETABLES; and, III. MINERALS.

THE COMPARATIVE NATURE OF MAN.

I. That which is first to nature in the order of creation, is not first to man in the order of philosophical inquiries; or, in other words, the progress of the Creator is different from that of the creature. When the Supreme Being by his omnipotent word called the universe into existence, he began, as we are informed upon the authority of scripture, with the most simple elements, and proceeded from inanimate and unorganized matter, first to the creation of the vegetable tribes, then to the inferior animals, and finally to the human race. Genesis i, and ii. Man begins his speculations with himself, and, from contemplating the structure of his own body, and the faculties of his mind, proceeds to survey the rest of the creation. He considers the properties of animals, the vegetable tribes which cover the earth, and the masses of unorganized matter, which are found beneath its surface: and this view raises his mind from the contemplation of effects so numerous, so diversified, and so wonderful, to the discovery of their primary cause.

Man, the image of the Deity, the first and noblest of all his works, is distinguished from other animals, no less by his external form, than his internal faculties. The most accurate knowledge of him is derived from comparison; for if the brute creation had no existence, his nature would be little understood, and very inadequately comprehended. Such is the advantage to be derived from comparative anatomy, and the contrast between the intellectual properties of man, and the instinctive power of beasts. The exterternal figure of the human species indicates him to be the lord of the creation. His body is upright, and his countenance is stamped with the characters of dignity and sovereignty. He alone sheds the tears which spring from emotions of sensibility unknown to animals; and he alone expresses the gladness of his soul by laughter. His erect posture and majestic deportment announce the superiority of his rank. He touches the earth only with the extremity of his body; his arms and hands, formed for nobler ends than the correspondent organs of quadrupeds, execute the purposes of his mind, and bring every thing within his reach, which can minister to his wants and his pleasures. By his eyes, which reflect the intelligence of thought, and the ardour of sentiment, and which are peculiarly the organs

of the soul, are expressed the soft and tender, as well as the violent and tumultuous passions. They are turned, not towards the heavens, but to the horizon, so that he may behold at once the sky which illuminates, and the earth which supports him. Their reach extends to the nearest and the most distant objects, and glances from the grains of sand at his feet, to the star which shines over his head at an immeasurable distance*.

Thus is man superior in the material and external part of his composition. Though naturalists place him in one of the classes of animals, it is not their intention to derogate from his dignity. The general denomination they give to the class, to which they assign him, is not intended to infer a relation more intimate than the idea, whence it is derived; since even those who wish to degrade him to a level with the inferior animals, cannot but acknowledge that nature may often admit a resemblance in some particulars, co-existent with the greatest dissimilarity in others.

Man is a thinking and a rational being. His body is divisible, extended, and penetrable, and subject to disease, decay, and death; his soul is indivisible, unextended, and immaterial. He has the brilliant and inventive faculty of imagination, to form the most various ideas; he has an active memory, not merely resulting from a renewal of sensations, but retaining with exactness the impressions of preconceived ideas; and he possesses a judgment to discriminate, compare, and combine his thoughts, and to deduce conclusions from them by repeated operations of the mind. By the superiority of his courage and ingenuity he subdues animals far more bulky, more alert and stronger than himself, and makes them subservient to his purposes. Among inferior animals there is no mark of the subordination of the different species: they are never subject to each other, but all are subject to man. He possesses the exclusive faculty of speech, as well in a savage as in a civilized state. The organs of other animals, the tongue, and the palate, are nearly as perfect as his; but they cannot speak, because they are destitute of the power of thought. The cries, which they utter, more nearly resemble the sounds of a musical instru-

* For observations on the nature of man, see Buffon, vol. ii, p. 352; Varieties of the human species, Buffon, vol. iii, p. 57. Gregory's Comp. View. For man, as the head of the classes of animals, see Linnæi Systema, vol. i, p. 36, &c. His external and internal constitution, Butler's Analogy, preface, p. 16.

ment, or the repetition of an echo, than the articulate tones of the human voice. In man there is not an instinct common to the whole species, but a mind belonging to every individual, which not only prompts him to action, and to the supply of his natural wants, but instigates him to all the various exertions of invention, and the diversified operations of genius.

In the direction and use of these faculties, which are common to him with the inferior animals, may be discerned the superiority of his nature. "The Creator has given us *eyes*, by the assistance of which we discern the works of creation. He has moreover endowed us with the power of *tasting*, by which we perceive the parts entering into the composition of bodies; of *smelling*, that we may catch their subtile exhalations; of *hearing*, that we may receive the sound of bodies around us; and of *touching*, that we may examine their surfaces; and all for the purpose of our comprehending, in some measure, the wisdom of his works. The same instruments of sensation are bestowed on many other animals, who see, hear, smell, taste, and feel; but they want the faculty, which is granted us, of combining these sensations, and from thence drawing universal conclusions. When we subject the human body to the knife of the anatomist, in order to find in the structure of its internal organs something, which we do not observe in other animals, to account for this operation, we are obliged to own the vanity of our researches; we must therefore necessarily ascribe this prerogative to something altogether *immaterial*, which the Creator has given to man alone, and which we call SOUL." Linnæus's Reflections on the Study of Nature, p. 12. It is by the exertion of this sublime principle, in all the various modes of thought, reflection, and judgment, that he is enabled to estimate the powers of all other creatures; but they are totally incapable of ascertaining him; that he is empowered to pursue every great and noble object, to enlarge his knowledge in every direction, and make the important discoveries of science, art, and philosophy. It is his soul, which is the seat of conscience, and makes him feel that he is accountable for his actions. It is this, which elevates him above sensible things, qualifies him for the reception of a divine revelation, and inspires him with the desire of happiness and immortality*.

* For many interesting reflections upon the human figure and faculties, as contrasted with those of other animals, see Buffon and St Pierre.

Another property, which essentially distinguishes man from the other animals, is, that he is a *religious* being. They partake not with him in any degree, or in any respect, this sublime faculty, which is the glory of human intelligence. By his piety man is exalted above the beasts, is enabled to form a conception of the general plan of nature, and confirms the idea of order, harmony, and regularity, which he derives from surveying the works of creation, by the glimpse which he catches of the Creator.

All nations are impressed with an opinion of the existence and the providence of a Deity; not that they all obtain a knowledge of him, after the manner of a Socrates or a Newton, by contemplating the laws he has given to the universe, or the general harmony of his works, but by dwelling on those beneficial effects of his power, which interest them the most. The Indian of Peru worships the sun; the native of Bengal adores the Ganges, which fertilizes his plains; and the wandering Iroquois implores the spirits, who preside over his lakes and forests, to grant him success in fishing, and favourable seasons for the chase. The Natches, a ferocious tribe, bordering on the Mississippi, erect temples, and offer the sculls of their enemies to the god of war; whilst other American savages in a purer spirit of devotion confess a supreme being wise and benevolent, and his subordinate agents to whose care is intrusted the government of the world. The sentiment of piety is therefore a feature as discriminating of man as the principle of reason. It is an image, which, however mutilated by the course of time, debased by superstition, or veiled by mystery, marks him wherever he is found; and is discoverable as much in the most remote and unconnected islands in the recesses of the ocean, as upon extensive continents, where the communication of opinions and the intercourse of travellers are most easy.

In the course of our observations upon the various animals of the globe, we cannot fail to remark the uniform care, which they take of themselves and their offspring. The general laws, by which they are governed, have a constant reference to their preservation and increase. They exert the most watchful circumspection as to the places they frequent, and the enemies they avoid; and they display the greatest ingenuity in the formation of their dwellings. In such instances it cannot escape our observation that there is an evident tendency to a determined end, and that the means with which nature supplies them is nicely proportioned to that end. The principle which guides them is

instinct, and not *reason*. They are impelled by necessity, rather than led by choice, and are passive to the impressions made upon them by external objects. Hence their works and actions are always uniform and invariable. The salmon, after having explored the wide ocean, always returns in defiance of all the obstacles which oppose her progress, to the same river, to deposit her spawn. The bee always frames her cell in the form of an hexagon, which is the most capacious of all the figures that can be joined together without any interstices. And the lark builds her nest in the same places, and of the same materials, and at the same season of the year. If they were influenced by reason, they would not be disconcerted and unmanageable, when taken from that mode of subsistence, which is peculiar to each species. If they were capable of reflection or invention, they would not be limited to one invariable plan of operations; reason would show itself by new efforts, and the variety of their ideas would not fail to diversify their industry. If animals possessed a spark of that divine flame, which enlightens the human race, we should find them frequently deviating from their system of action. It is solely in the breast of man, that the power of producing diversified effects is fixed; and consequently it is to him alone, that we must look for the power of choice, originality of design, and various inventions. But his superiority does not terminate here. Reason is the substitute for those qualities, which animals possess in a degree superior to man. He has not indeed the wings of an eagle, to convey him with rapidity to the most distant places; he does not possess the horns of the stag to attack, nor the fangs of the lion to seize his prey; he is not, like them, originally clothed by the hands of nature; at his birth he is not furnished with the feathers of the bird, or the fur of the beast: but, instead of these conveniences, he is endued with the exalted faculty of reason, which teaches him the most important lessons. He feels the strong and animating conviction, that he is the lord of the creation, and that the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea, are designed to supply his wants, and minister to his comforts.

§. 1. *The laws and constitution of nature with respect to animals in general.*

That every production is suited to its respective place,

appears from the situation of young animals, and the particular season of their birth. As soon as the lamb is strong enough to subsist without the milk of its mother, it is supplied by the most wholesome nutriment, which it finds in the tender grass of the spring. Ray, p. 123, 128. Derham's Physico-Theology, p. 184. Fish and other animals, which do not themselves feed their young, deposit their spawn or eggs in such places as are most convenient for bringing them to maturity, and where their progeny can find nutricious food in the greatest abundance. The pike leaves her spawn either in ditches, or near the banks of rivers, where thick weeds shelter them from injury, and small aquatic animals afford provision for her young, and where the genial warmth of the sun favours their growth. The white butterfly fastens its eggs to the leaves of the cabbage, which furnish nutriment to the caterpillars, which are its offspring. The system of adaptation extends no less to their frame, than to the places of their abode. Their organs of motion and mode of subsistence are exactly suited to their wants and situations. The fins of the fish, the antennæ of insects, which guard their eyes, and forewarn them of danger, are as admirable in their construction and use, as the tail of the beaver, and the proboscis of the elephant. Their legs are admirably fitted to their wants and enjoyments. In some they are formed for strength only, and to support a vast and unwieldy frame, without proportion or symmetry: thus the legs of the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the hippopotamus resemble massy pillars. Deer, hares, and other creatures, which find their safety in flight, have their legs entirely adapted to that purpose, and they are therefore slender, flexible, and full of nerves.

Their covering is likewise exactly suited to their places of abode. The fox and the wolf, which in temperate climates are covered with short hair, are protected in the rigour of the winter in the polar regions by furs of considerable length and of fine texture. The beaver of Canada, and the ermine of Armenia, the natives of cold climates, are remarkable for the warmth and delicacy of their furs: the elephant and the rhinoceros, the natives of the sultry line, have scarcely any hair at all.

Animals, which exercise the faculty of sight in the dark, have the tunica choroides, or coat behind the retina of the eye, which in the human organ of vision is black, of a white or grey colour. The eyes of the cat species become in the dark as it were all pupil, and by this enlargement, they are

enabled to see better by night than by day. It is for this reason the traveller can keep off the lion, the tyger, and all the varieties of the same tribe by fires blazing in the night. In the day, they seldom prowl in search of food, as the light is too strong for their eyes. Some animals excel in swiftness, some in force. The strength of the lion, would be highly inconsistent with the timidity of the stag; and the horns of the latter would be unserviceable to the former, who rushes with impetuous fury on his prey, through the thick and entangling forests. That the particular parts of their frames are conducive in the greatest degree to vigour and growth, and that every place affords proper sustenance to its peculiar animals, is clear from the plumpness of their bodies, the agility of their actions, and the beauty of their forms, whenever they are found in a natural and wild state. The insect, visible by the assistance of a microscope, sporting in a drop of water, appears no less active and strong, in proportion to his size, than the whale which agitates the northern ocean; and among quadrupeds, the sleek mole, the active mouse, the shaggy bear, and enormous elephant, discover an equal degree of health and robustness.

He who has given life to animals has diversified their means of supporting it: and we cannot fail to remark an evident reason for this constitution of nature; for if all birds were to fly in the same manner, every fish to swim with the same velocity, and every quadruped to run with equal swiftness, the tribes of the weaker animals would fall a prey to the unavoidable rapacity of the stronger, and would soon be entirely extinct.

Objects that are open to daily observation lose their effect upon our minds; but such as are rare and uncommon seldom fail to strike us with admiration. This remark is peculiarly applicable to those animals, which form as it were the connecting links in the chain of animation, and which show with what facility the great author of nature can depart from those general laws, by which he limits certain animals to peculiar elements. The sight of web-footed birds, serpents, frogs, lizards, and tortoises, which can equally betake themselves to the land or the water, excites no surprise; but how curious does the silurus callychthys, a species of fish, appear! When the rivulet it inhabits is dry, it has the power of travelling over land, till it finds more copious streams. The inguana, a species of lizard, sports in the water, or lives among trees, feeding upon the flowers of the mahot and the leaves of the mapou, in the warm climate of Africa. The

flying squirrel can extend the membranes which grow on each side of its body in such a manner, that, being able to descend by a precipitate slight from one branch to another, it easily avoids its pursuers. The flying fish, supported by his extended fins, seeks safety in the air, to escape the rapacity of its enemies in the water. The beaver of New Holland has the bill and the web feet of a duck. The ostrich is of an ambiguous class, and may be said to be rather a running, than a flying animal; his wings are not large or long enough to raise him from the ground, but rather serve as sails or oars to impel the air, and add swiftness to his feet. The scaly sides of the crocodile, the hard integument of the rhinoceros, and the hairy coat of the cassowary prove with what ease their Creator could vary his plans, and furnish each with a kind of covering, differing from that which belongs to their species.

Every region of the globe, with very few exceptions, is found to be replete with life. To produce organized and animated bodies is the constant employment of nature, and her prolific power knows no bounds. Ray, the ingenious author of a curious work on the creation, has divided animated bodies into four genera; *beasts*, *birds*, *fishes*, and *insects*. "The species of beasts, including serpents, are about 150; the number of birds known and described, near 500; and the number of fishes, excluding shell fish, as many: but if the shell fish be taken in, more than six times the number. The insects, if we take in the exanguious, both terrestrial and aquatic, may vie even with plants themselves. Butterflies and beetles are such numerous tribes, that I believe in our own native country alone the species of each kind may amount to 150, or more. The insects in the whole earth (land and water) will amount to ten thousand."—Ray, p. 23.

Linnæus "has distributed animals into six classes, viz. *mammalia*, *aves*, *amphibia*, *pisces*, *insecta*, *vermes*. Each class is divided into a certain number of orders, and each order is again subdivided into genera, each of which contains a variety of species. This system includes 354 kinds, and near six thousand known species."

Such a variety of animals found in the world is a just subject of astonishment. Many are visible to the naked eye; but the magnifying power of glasses has opened new scenes of life to our views. The green leaves, the blades of grass, the pools of stagnant water, are as fully peopled with inhabitants, in proportion to their size, as the broad rivers, deep forests, and wide spread oceans, which diversify the globe.

The moss and grass, to the insects inhabiting them, are gardens and forests, consisting of numberless plants; drops of water are seas; and the grains of dust and sand are precipices and mountains. The minuteness of many insects is the strongest reason for admiring the curious mechanism of their structure, which combines so many vessels, organs, joints, weapons, and membranes in a single point or speck, frequently so small indeed, that their whole frame to the unaided eye is scarcely visible. We cannot fail to admire the benevolence of nature to man in this particular circumstance of their minuteness; for if they had bulk and size, in proportion to some of the larger animals, they would be the most hideous and formidable of his enemies. The common insects, which now only appear to discolour the ears of corn, would then frustrate the labours of agriculture, and make the most destructive ravages in our fields and harvests.

In places most remote from the abode of man, and in every element, are animals to be found. The waters contain innumerable inhabitants. Such kinds of fish as are wholesome for food are exceedingly prolific, but those which are of a noxious kind are much less so. The same benign Providence which has regulated this power of increase keeps those at a distance from our shores, which we have no want of; and sends those which furnish delicious food within the reach of our arts. A cod will bring forth as many eggs in a year, as amounts to the whole population of Britain: one million have been found in a flounder, and half that number in a mackarel. Sullivan's View of Nature, vol. iii, p. 261. Among the rocky coasts are discovered tribes of shell-fish; in in the wide and open ocean the shark and the grampus seek their prey: and in the northern seas, amid the masses of ice, which abound in the polar circle, the mighty whale secures his wintry retreat. In the deep forests of the Cape of Good Hope walks the elephant, and among the sedges of the Nile and the Ganges lurks the insidious crocodile. The rose coloured flamingo inhabits the miry shores of the southern ocean; between the tropics the gay humming bird, the smallest of the feathered race, extracts the honey from the fragrant flowers; among the sands of Africa the ostrich deposits her eggs, leaving her young to the fostering care of nature; and upon the summit of the craggy rocks of the Orknies, inaccessible to man, the eagles frame their capacious eyry.

Travellers of credit assure us, that there is not a shallow in the seas between the tropics which is not distinguished by

some species of bird, crab, turtle, or fish, no where else to be found so varied, or in such abundance.

Heat, if not the principle of animation, is at least its great and necessary stimulative. As soon as the sun reaches the point of the vernal equinox, his piercing rays begin to inspire universal nature with activity. Every step he advances through the heavens announces the progress of vegetation, and general production. All animals come forth from their wintry retirement, and follow with activity the dictates of their peculiar instincts. Incited by the genial influence of warmth, the feathered tribes fill the groves with their songs, the quadrupeds and reptiles disport in the verdant fields and forests, and the finny race leave the dark recesses of the northern deeps, to hasten in countless shoals to the coasts. Animals then obey with alacrity the universal law, which prompts them to propagate their kind, and to enjoy the happiness peculiar to their respective species.

Throughout universal nature a gradation of beings may be traced: and yet their particular differences elude the observation, like the various colours of the rainbow blending and mixing with each other. Where vegetation ceases, or seems to cease, perception begins; and we trace some of the first rudiments, or sparks of it, in the actinia, or sea anemone, the oyster, and the snail. Then it ascends through various gradations of beings, distinguished by more enlarged and more active faculties, more perfect and more numerous organs, to those creatures, which approach to the nature of man. We behold the distant resemblance of his sagacity in the elephant, of his social attachments in the bee and the beaver, and the rude traces of his form in the orang outang. We next remark discriminations between the different families of mankind, from the stupid and brutish savages of Nova Zembla to the polished Europeans, characterized indeed with the same general form and limbs, but marked by dissimilarity of features. In various climes the difference of complexion and stature is likewise observable: such as the fair countenances of the natives of the North of Europe, the swarthy Moor and Spaniard, and the olive coloured and black Asiatic; the dwarfish Tatars of the Polar regions, and the giants of the Straits of Magellan. Nothing however is more worthy of our attention, as it constitutes a distinction, which is not merely external, but of an intrinsic and most exalted kind, than man improved in his intellectual powers, adorned by arts, and refined by philosophy, as we contemplate his character in a Bacon, a Boyle, and a Newton.

Then we ascend to heaven itself, and contemplate the angels differing in rank and subordination, rising gradually to the archangel, who stands before the throne of God, and executes his commands. And, finally, our soaring thoughts reach the summit of the long-ascending series of beings, which is extended even to the Creator himself.

The figures and the proportions of animals, the number and the position of their limbs, the substance of their flesh, bones, and integuments, and more particularly the structure of the human frame, are replete with discoveries of the most admirable contrivance, as to their arrangement and fitness for their different uses.

That the organs of animals are essential to their preservation, and even to their existence, will appear from considering the construction and properties of the *eye*, which is one of the most remarkable and the most useful. Supposing an animal endued with life and motion, yet still it could not know in what place to find sustenance, or by what means to avoid danger, without the faculty of sight. This constitutes in man, as well as in other animals, a refined kind of feeling, extended to the various objects of nature and art. The organ of vision is a most lively and delicate instrument of exquisite structure, through which sensations are conveyed to the mind. Its form is the most commodious that can possibly be imagined, for containing the different humours of which it consists, and receiving the images of all external objects. By its situation in the head, it can take in a greater number of objects, than if placed in any other part of the body. And by its power of motion, it can be turned to view those objects, in whatever direction they may appear. The wonder of this examination is greatly increased on investigating the more minute parts and mechanism of the eye. The pupil is contracted or dilated, according to the distance or remoteness of objects, or the increase or diminution of light. The coverings or tunics are of the firmest texture, and softest substance. The vitreous, the aqueous, and the crystalline humours are all remarkable for clearness and transparency, and are formed according to the most exact rules of vision, for collecting the rays of light to a point.

Clumsy and mishapen are the instruments of art, when compared with this finished and beautiful organ. True it is, that the microscope enables us to survey the smaller works of nature, and that the telescope exalts our prospect to the wonders of the celestial bodies: but these are fixed and limited to certain distances, and particular points of view;

one is adapted to measuring the magnitude of a planet, the other to examining the formation of an insect: but the eye wonderfully accommodates itself to every distance within its own extensive sphere. Without diminution of its force, or the energy or distinctness of its powers, it alike surveys the page of learning, embraces the wide prospects of sea and land, and takes in the countless constellations of the heavens. In what manner it can adapt itself to these very different objects and distances, seems not to be clearly understood by anatomists; we know however enough of its effects to see the most evident traces of design in its formation, and its most perfect fitness to the spheres in which different animals move. The study of *optics*, to which these remarks may lead, is one of the most pleasing branches of science.

The *final* cause for the production of animals was a subject of deep and serious speculation among ancient philosophers: Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny concluded, that all things were created for the service of man. In modern times, this prejudice, so indulgent to the pride of mankind, has been strengthened rather than weakened, by more enlarged inquiries, and more intimate acquaintance with nature.

The dominion of man is sufficiently extensive to relieve his wants, administer to his luxury, and indulge his pride, as the lord of the creation. Is there any thing peculiarly august in his countenance, or commanding in his erect figure, which impresses the most savage beasts of the forest with terror, and awes them into submission? Or does he derive his superiority from his intellectual powers, and his contrivance of various expedients to subdue and tame them? The latter is certainly the more probable supposition. Those animals, which have not yet become acquainted with his prowess, meet his first attacks with the most hardy presumption. The albatross and the whale only fly from his presence, when they have felt the force of his weapons. The enormous bear of the polar regions boldly advances to meet his attack; and the ferocious lion of Zaara, confiding in his strength, ventures singly to engage a whole caravan, consisting of thousands; and when repulsed by numbers, and obliged to retire, he still continues to face his pursuers. On the contrary, in the most populous parts of Africa, when the lion has been frequently hunted by the hardy natives, such is his dread of the human race, that even the sight of a child puts him to flight. In all countries, in proportion as man is civilized, the lower ranks of animals are either reduced to servitude, or treated as rebels; all their associations are dis-

solved, except such as will answer his purposes; and all their united strength and natural powers are subdued, and nothing remains but their solitary instincts, or those foreign habitudes, which they acquire from human education. Those whose daring, or those whose timid natures admit not of being tamed, seek in the distant recesses of the forrests, or the impenetrable fastnesses of the mountains, protection from an enemy, whose superior sagacity detects their arts, and discovers their retreats; who entraps them with his snares, when not present himself; and who lurking behind the thick covert, discharges his unerring instrument of death, and slays them at a distance so great, as not to awaken their apprehensions of danger.

It is thus he maintains his power over all living creatures, alike in the frozen regions of the north, and in the hot and burning plains of the torrid zone. Whenever they are discovered by his penetrating eye, the most savage and hostile tribes may for a time hold his empire in dispute: but their opposition and their force serve only to awaken his ingenuity, and call his powers into more daring action. The horse and the dog which enjoy his protection from the earliest period of their lives, are taught to know their master, and to adopt many of his habits of life. Upon the lion and the tyger, which the African leads captives from the forests, or upon the vulture and the eagle, which he secures when young, or brings down from their rapid and sublime flights, he at first imposes the severity of famine, watching, and fatigue, to conquer their savage nature, and reduce them to obedience. The dangers of the ocean stop not the pursuits of man; the sailor catches the ravenous shark, and transfixes the mighty whale. With a boldness still more desperate, the fowler of the north climbs the perpendicular rocks of Norway or St. Kilda, or lowered from their airy summits which overhang the tempestuous deep, explores the nests of the clamorous birds, and plunders them of their eggs and their young. From such arduous labours does man draw the means of his subsistence; from such exertions he acquires peculiar habits of courage and agility, becomes reconciled to his situation, and enjoys it without repining at the easier lot of others.

Thus is constantly executed that primeval law, which secured the empire of the creation to man by the express voice of divine revelation, even after he had forfeited his innocence, and was debased by guilt. *And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth,*

and upon every fowl of the air; upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered. Gen. ix, 2.

Much as we may discern in the animal economy to convince us of the benevolence of nature, there are many things, which excite our surprise, and for which we cannot readily account. That she should so far in appearance counteract her own designs, as to make one animal prey upon another, seems extraordinary; but perhaps this law is not so severe as it appears to be, when we consider, that animals have no presentiment of their fate; that contracted as their existence is, all of them evidently enjoy that portion of happiness, which is consistent with their formation and powers. By the present constitution of the animal system the life and happiness of its superior orders are promoted: the bodies of the inferior classes, which from their delicate structure, must more quickly perish, become the materials of sustaining life in others; and a much larger number is enabled to subsist in consequence of animals thus devouring each other, than could be maintained, if they all subsisted upon vegetables; because it is a received principle in physics, that animal food furnishes more nutriment than vegetable substances of equal weight.

It is sufficiently evident, that the various tribes of insects, by preying upon each other, preserves the fruits of the earth from those ravages they would necessarily suffer, should any one species of them multiply too fast; and even those which we drive from our habitations are formed for salutary purposes, and consume such substances as would become pernicious to the health of man, if left to a gradual decay.

For what reason nature is so prodigal in the production of animals invisible, as well as visible, to the unassisted eye; for what cause such ingenious contrivance is bestowed upon their structure, and so much elegance displayed in their colours and forms; why the more noxious animals should exist, such as the tarantula, the rattle snake, the crocodile, and the izal salya*; are questions which naturalists will not be able to answer, until they are more perfectly acquainted with the general economy of her designs, and the particular relation and dependence of one animal upon another.

* A species of bee, armed with a poisonous sting: when it appears in Abyssinia, and the coasts of the Red Sea, so terrified are the inhabitants, that they quit their abodes, and fly to the distant sands of Beja. See Sullivan, vol. iii. p. 287.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIMILARITY OF ANIMALS TO VEGETABLES.

II. THE powers of growth and of the propagation of their respective species are possessed in common by the animal and the vegetable; and the first step, which is made by nature towards endowing a creature with motion, constitutes the connecting link of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and this link is formed by the oyster, and the various kinds of the *zoophites*, or those vegetable substances which are possessed of animation. Yet minute and feeble as their frame appears, wonderful and stupendous are the structures which they raise: witness those immense and dangerous coral rocks, described in Cook's voyage, which rise almost perpendicularly like walls, in the Southern Ocean, and are formed by a species of the lithophytos, to whose labours we owe those beautiful corals, known by the name of madrepores and millepores; whilst the zoophytes, from their protruding from their habitation, in the form of flowers, were once classed amongst the vegetable tribes.

The polypus ranks as the first of plants, and the last of animals, if its propagation, as some naturalists affirm, can be effected by cuttings, similar to the multiplication of plants by slips and suckers*. Difference of formation, and the power of moving from one place to another, seem to constitute the most remarkable discriminations. The lines, which divide these two kingdoms, however, cannot be very accurately marked out; and the common properties of animals and vegetables are much more numerous, than their essential distinctions†.

The poets, both ancient and modern, have indulged the pleasing fiction of attributing to vegetables the passions, actions, and many of the characteristics of animals. The philosophers Plato, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, did not

* See Martin's Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, vol. ix, p. 17. for the history of the polypus.

† Ray, p. 109, Chambers's Dictionary. Evelyn's Sylva, p. 33. Watson's Essays. Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, v. i.

hesitate to raise them to that distinction; and many of the modern naturalists, for instance, Cardan, Ray, Spallanzani, Watson, and Percival, were induced, by a more accurate inspection of their structure and properties, to favour that opinion. The external form of some plants leads at first view to a curious deception. One of the flowers of the *orchis* tribe resembles a bee, a second a wasp, and a third, still more uncommon, is like a spider. The *cypripedium* of South America in its nectary resembles likewise the body, and in its petals the legs of the large spider; and this ambiguous appearance deters the humming-bird from extracting honey from its flowers*.

Nor is the close analogy of plants with animals less curious, on examining their internal structure and properties. The former are covered with a bark, which resembles the coat of the latter. Leaves, like the hair of animals and the feathers of birds, fall off at certain seasons. Some are clad with coarse garments, to resist all severity of weather; others with more flimsy raiment. The leaves may be considered as the lungs, from the quantity of air which they absorb and exhale. The branches and tendrils of the hop, the vine, and the ivy, resemble legs and arms. The circulation of sap, like that of blood, diffuses vigour and nourishment over all parts of the vegetable. The parts of generation agree with the most minute exactness. The seeds resemble little animals in embryo, and for number can only be compared to the astonishing abundance of nature shown in the spawn of fish. Each seed by degrees enlarges the milky juice, which forms its aliment, and is received from the parent plant, through vessels of the finest texture.

Plants possess an organical, although not a progressive motion. *Mimosa*, the sensitive plant, is well known to shrink at the touch. The *dionæa* closes its leaves the instant a fly settles upon them. The *hedysarum gyrans*, a native of Bengal, has the peculiar property of voluntary motion. Two small appendages or leaflets, situated on each side of the

* Several insects of the *mantis* genus are so exactly similar to a cluster of leaves, in their form and colour, that they are called by the sailors, who find them in the woods, walking leaves. When the tentacula of the sea anemone are extended, and they are themselves expanded to their greatest dimensions, they bear so strong a resemblance to a flower, that some naturalists have supposed them to be vegetables. These animals fixed to the rocks, and imperforate at the base, have a mouth situated at the top, which they possess the power of dilating, till it becomes capable of receiving a large muscle: they extract the fish, and return the vacant shell by the same aperture.

foot-stalk, alternately meet and recede during the greatest part of the day. The heliotrope* points its flowers to the sun, and seems eager to draw nourishment from his genial rays. Flowers always turn towards the light; under a serene sky they expand; rain and storms cause many of them, particularly trefoil, wood-sorrel, mountain ebony, wild senna, and the African marigold, to be contracted; and at night they bow their heads, and fold up their leaves, as if yielding to the power of sleep. Some of them, like some animals, sleep during the day, and wake during the night. The *cactus grandiflorus* opens its flowers on the setting of the sun, and closes them at break of day. The *jalapa mirabilis* never expands its flowers, but in the evening. The influence of heat in the vernal season is the same on animals and vegetables; for when the birds begin to warble in the forests, and the fish to move in the deeps, the plants shoot forth their flowers, and propagate their kind. The wood anemone begins to blow in Sweden when the swallow arrives; and the marsh marigold flowers in Britain when the cuckoo sings.

These and various other analogies are sufficient to show, that the animal and vegetable kingdoms approach very near, or rather are united to each other; and that the ordinary distinctions made between them are more serviceable for the common purposes of discrimination, than consistent with the precision of true philosophy, or the essential differences of nature.

SECTION I. BOTANY.

This train of observation leads us by easy steps to the consideration of that pleasing science, which opens a regular prospect of the vegetable kingdom, and comprises the knowledge of all kinds of plants. The study of botany is not only an elegant amusement, and leads to a beautiful display of the order and variety established by nature; but from the different and important uses of plants in food, raiment, medicine, and many arts, it is of real and essential service to mankind†.

* The heliotrobe, or turnesole, is the heliotropium tricoccum, very common in the environs of Montpellier and in Germany, but it is very different from the English sun-flower.

† Martyn's Letters on Botany. Ray, p. 207, &c. Linnæi Op. p. 24, &c. Loves of the plants, vol. i. Amœnitates Acad. vol. vi, p. 311, &c. Derham's Physico. Theol. p. 488, &c.

The range of botany is wide and extensive, from the small moss and the fungi, which are intermixed with the common grass, to the towering pine and the majestic oak. The various kinds of grass, which cover the earth; flowers of all hues and forms, which exhale the most fragrant odours; beautiful shrubs and stately trees, are all subjects of the dominions of Flora. "Linnæus, says Dr. Darwin, has divided the vegetable world into twenty-four classes; these classes into about an hundred and twenty orders; these contain about two thousand families, or genera; and these families about twenty thousand species, beside innumerable varieties, which the accidents of climate or cultivation have added to these species."

This number of plants must be exceedingly deficient if we consider how little is known of the vegetable productions of the globe. We are very slightly acquainted with the interior parts of Africa, with the three Arabias, the two Americas, with New Guinea, New Zealand, and the innumerable islands of the Southern Ocean. What have we ascertained in the immense Archipelagos of the Philippines and Moluccas, or of most of the Asiatic islands? The vast coasts of New Holland, and the island of Otaheite, are said to have a botany peculiar to themselves.

> "Another Flora there of bolder hues,
> And richer sweets beyond our garden's pride,
> Plays o'er the fields, and showers with sudden hand
> Exuberant spring."
>
> THOMSON'S SUMMER.

Linnæus, the celebrated professor of Upsal, and president of the academy of Stockholm, rose superior to the difficulties of poverty, and raised himself to the highest distinction as a most laborious and accurate physiologist. With an extent and clearness of intellect, and a diligence of research peculiar to himself, he undertook the arduous task of reforming the whole system of botany. Before his time, the description of plants was so perplexed with difficult and abstruse terms, that it only tended to make their nature more obscure, and their study more repulsive. In two successive works, he has determined the genera and species of plants, in such a manner, that by retaining all the old names, which agreed with his new rules, and reforming all the rest, he established a clear nomenclature, founded upon the true principles of the art. He confined himself to a small number of technical words well chosen and appro-

priate, in order to make short definitions of the true character of plants. The new language of botany, which he thus invented, although it necessarily departed from the classical model, yet it was not encumbered with the tedious circumlocutions of the old descriptions, and is in general short, precise, and expressive. From the description of the vegetable tribes, he proceeded to assign them particular names, and thus familiarized them in such a manner, that, by his appropriate appellations, a botanist is enabled, at first sight, to name any plant he has ever seen before, as well as to know its nature by its fructification, and understand its properties by an apt and clear description.

But the glory of Linnæus arose from his making the sexual discriminations of plants the basis of his system. Those parts, which had before been regarded as useless and superfluous, were raised to the rank that nature had originally designed for them. This was a work of great labour, and required the most accurate observation; for not only the genera, but every species were to be examined by their stamina and pistils, as he determined those to be the only parts essentially necessary to fructification. This distinction appeared to many, at first sight, to be too frivolous, as they thought that nature had not been scrupulously exact in her productions: but since the Linnæan system has been established, there is no student of botany, who is able to determine the precise character of any genus, without having the accurate idea of these discriminating parts.

The system of Linnæus appears to be more conformable to nature than any yet offered to the world: it has this peculiar excellence, that the name of each vegetable gives us its description: and if there be any defect in his four and twenty classes, it must be attributed to the necessary deficiency of any artificial arrangement, when applied to the infinite variety of nature.

Without any intention to detract from the reputation of this great naturalist, we may venture to assert, that his merit consists not so much in the first discovery, as in the adoption and establishment of the sexual system. Plain intimations of it are given by some of the ancient naturalists, particularly by Aristotle and Theophrastus. Herodotus mentions, that it was a custom of the natives of Babylon to carry the flowers of the male to the female palm-tree, and thus assist the operations of nature in producing fruit. This curious fact was confirmed by the observation of

Hasselquist, in the middle of the last century. Nor did it escape the researches of Ray and Millington, who flourished many years before the time of Linnæus. Grew, the ingenious author of the anatomy of vegetables, expressly affirms, that every plant is male and female; he has pointed out the close analogies between the parts of fructification and those of generation, and the correspondent offices and effects of each.

All plants seem to grow in the same manner: the genial warmth of the sun, the refreshment of the rains, the same soils appear to suit their respective species; and upon a superficial glance, they seem to have the same common parts. A chymical analysis discovers the same constituent principles in all, that is to say, calcareous earth, oil, water, and air, with a portion of iron, to which they owe their beautiful colours. Yet although composed of similar materials, their juices to the eye, and to the taste, appear as various as their forms. The soporific milk of the poppy, the acrid but equally milky juice of the spunge, the acid of the sorrel, the saccharine sap of the sycamore and maple, and the resin of the tribe of pines, bear no resemblance to each other. Various are the articles of use and pleasure, which man receives from the vegetable world; yet how many of their qualities remain undiscovered! And the investigation of these qualities is rendered highly important by considering, that, copious as our list of esculents may be, there are doubtless many others, which might be added; and perhaps a process might be discovered, by which some plants hitherto neglected may be rendered nutritious, as an agreeable part of our common diet, or salutary, as introduced into the materia medica.

The inward structure of plants is as regular and various, as their external forms are elegant and well proportioned. This formation cannot have been originally designed, merely to attract and gratify the admiring eye of an accidental spectator, but rather to render the production more perfect. The root, trunk, branch, leaf, flower, fruit, and seed, have each its peculiar character and form, and the microscope displays all their latent beauties to the eye. Every one of them when dissected, and seen by the aid of a glass, appears to be interwoven with complicated meshes, which vary in an endless diversity, and charm the eye by the perfect regularity of the net work. The transverse section of a pear, when magnified, shows first the acetary, which joins the core, composed of regular circles; secondly, the

outer parenchyma or pulp, formed of globules, ligneous fibres, and radiated vessels, disposed in the most beautiful order; and thirdly, the ring of sap vessels and skin formed of circles, and strait lines or ducts. No part in the contexture of the smallest fibre or leaf is unfinished, but is formed with the most minute exactness. The seeds of plants have the appearance of shells, unlike in form, and diversified with spots and stripes. Every seed possesses a reservoir of nutriment, designed for the growth of the future plant. This is the matter prepared by nature for the reproduction and continuation of the whole species. This nutriment consists of starch, mucilage, or oil, within the coat of the seed, or of sugar and subacid pulp in the fruit, which belongs to it. The sections of the various kinds of trees are crossed with the greatest number of regular figures, which the imagination can conceive. The lines are more or less near or remote, according to the solidity or softness of the wood. The lines which form the texture of fir trees, are distant; but those of oak are close and compact.—And this difference of texture may serve to account for their greater or less solidity, and the difference of time requisite for them to arrive at maturity.

The different vegetable productions are no less numerous than useful. The purposes to which trees are applied, are well known, from the flexible willow, which forms the basket, to the hardy oak, which composes the most substantial parts of a ship of war. All possess different qualities, adapted to their different purposes. The meanest, and in appearance the most unpleasant, have their use; even the thistle is not only the food of some animals, but is serviceable in making glass. There is scarcely a plant which, although rejected as food by some animals, is not eagerly sought by others. The horse yields the common water hemlock to the goat, and the cow the long leafed water hemlock to the sheep. The goat again leaves the aconite, or bane berries to the horse. The euphorbia or spurge so noxious to man is greedily devoured by some of the insect tribes. The aloe is a magazine of provisions and of implements to the Indians, who inhabit the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Some plants, as rhubarb and opium, alleviate the tortures of pain; and some, as the quinquina, or Peruvian bark, can subdue the rage of the burning fever. Wheat, the delicious and prolific grain, which gives to the northern inhabitants of the world their wholesome nutriment, grows in almost every climate.

Where excessive heat or other causes prevent it from coming to perfection, its place is amply supplied by the bread fruit, the cassavi root, and maize, and more particularly by rice, which is the common aliment of that great portion of mankind, who inhabit the warm regions of the earth. Every meadow in the vernal season brings forth various kinds of grass; and this spontaneous and most abundant of all vegetable productions requires only the labour of the husbandman to collect its harvest. The iron-wood, solid as marble, furnishes the Otaheitan with his long spear and massy club. The wild pine of Campeachy retains the rain water in its deep and capacious leaves, not less for the refreshment of the tree itself, than of the thirsty native of a burning soil. The cocoa of the East and West Indies answers many of the most useful purposes of life to the natives of a warm climate. Its bark is manufactured into cordage and clothing, and its shell into useful vessels; its kernel affords a pleasant and nutritive food, and its milk a cooling beverage; its leaves are used for covering houses, and are worked into baskets: and its boughs are of service to make props and rafters. The rein deer of the Laplander, so essential to his support and subsistence, could not survive through the tedious winter, without the lichen rangiferinus, which he digs from beneath the snow. All these productions and the various trees which produce cork and emit rosin, turpentine, pitch, gums, and balsam, either supply some constant necessity, obviate some inconvenience, or contribute to some use or gratification of the natives of the soils where they grow, or the inhabitants of distant climates.

Among vegetable productions, we cannot fail to notice the tribes of *mosses*, of such variety in their forms, that they scarcely yield to plants in number; and although extremely minute, yet of such an admirable structure, that they excel the stately palms of India, or the sturdy oaks of the forest. These mosses are dried up in summer, but in winter they revive, and assume a peculiar verdure; and as the season advances, they protect the roots of plants from cold, from the chilling blasts of spring, and the scorching heat of the summer sun.

Of the ardour with which the pursuit of botany is capable of inspiring its votaries there have been many eminent instances. The reformation of the system by Linnæus was a strong incitement to his pupils to explore the most distant countries. Tornstroem travelled into Asia, and Hasselquist

into Egypt and Palestine, where he fell a sacrifice to a lingering disorder. The fruits of his labours were not however lost to the world, as his botanical collections enrich the royal cabinet of Stockholm. Osbeck explored China and Java, Loefling went into Spain, and afterwards to South America, where he died. Thunberg travelled in Europe, Asia, and Africa; and has given a more particular account of Japan than any other traveller. Sparrman performed a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and has described the most remarkable animals and vegetables in that part of the world. Linnæus himself traversed Sweden and Lapland, where he braved the horrors of deserts and precipices, and suffered extreme hunger, thirst, and cold. In the researches of natural history the diligence of men of other countries has been conspicuous. Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander performed a voyage round the globe with captain Cook, and brought home many vegetable treasures of the Southern Islands. The diligence of Dr. Sibthorpe, jun. late professor of botany in Oxford, deserves to be well known. He encouraged, by his testamentary munificence, that pursuit to which he sacrificed his health, and finally his life, by two excursions into the east; and his *Flora Græca* will, no doubt, be a valuable monument of his scientific skill, and laborious researches. Bartram explored the deserts of North America, and has supplied a fund of information to the admirers of the wild productions of nature.

Uncertain as our climate is, and subject to the greatest changes of weather, we may still find in England sufficient scope to gratify our taste by an extensive survey of the vegetable beauties of the creation. Exclusive of the well known gardens of Windsor, Richmond, Kew, and Nuneham, there is scarcely a seat of any private gentleman, which does not present the prospect of flowers distinguished by the richest colours, and most fragrant perfume. Every clime supplies likewise its tributary shrubs of various leaf, colour, and form to Great Britain; and few are the spots where they can be seen flourishing in a manner more nearly approaching the verdure and luxuriance of their native soils, than in the delightful pleasure grounds of the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, and the marquis of Buckingham at Stow. Or if the traveller wishes to behold nature in her original state, where the hand of art has not clothed her with exotic ornaments, let him repair to the New Forest, to the woods that overhang the foaming streams of the Derwent, reflect their images in the lakes of

Winander Mere, and Ullswater, or diversify the romantic prospects of Duncombe and Piercefield: such wild and solemn scenes may suggest the pleasing recollection of the first age of the world, when the parents of the human race, blessed with unspotted innocence, roved amid the blooming flowers and umbrageous groves of paradise, and there enjoyed the society of angels, and even of the great Creator himself.

> "These are the haunts of meditation; these
> The scenes where ancient bards th' inspiring breath
> Ecstatic felt; and, from the world retired,
> Conversed with angels, and immortal forms,
> On gracious errands sent."
>
> THOMSON'S SUMMER.

The principles of botany are sufficiently regular, to give it the form and precision of science. And yet the true botanist is far from contenting himself with mere books: his observations are united with reading. Linnæus, Curtis, and Withering, are authors, whose works may be studied to great advantage; but they are rather to be verified in the fields, than only perused in the closet. To range in search of plants, and to examine their correspondence with their descriptions, is a source of very high gratification; as it proves the truth of the principles, upon which this pleasing study depends.

The botanist follows nature into her most retired abodes, and views her in her simple state, and native majesty. He remarks some of her productions disfigured by cultivation in gardens, where amid all the varieties of the apple and the pear, however distinguished by their colour, size, and taste, he observes, that there is but one original species of each, and that they have respectively but one radical character. He beholds the wonderful prodigality of nature, even in the composition of the common daisy, which consists of more than two hundred flowers, each including its respective corolla, germ, pistil, stamina, and seed, as perfectly formed as those of a complete lily, or hyacinth. And he sees this diversity as fully illustrated in the different sorts of grass, a term which, although it commonly conveys only one notion to the vulgar mind, and one object to the undiscerning eye, consists of five hundred different species, each formed with infinite beauty and variety. From others he particularly distinguishes the elegant *briza media*, so common in the fields, and so remarkable for its delicate hair-

like stem, trembling at every breeze; the *anthoxanthum odoratum*, which gives its fragrance to the new mown hay; and the *stipa pennata* with its waving plumes resembling the long feathers of the bird of paradise. The botanist enjoys a pleasing and innocent amusement, most agreeably combined with a love of rural retirement, and which gives a new and growing interest to every walk and ride, in the most delightful season of the year. He collects a harvest from all countries for the purpose of reviewing his treasures at leisure, and growing rich in scientific acquirements. He enjoys a satisfaction similar to that which the naturalist experiences from preserving and surveying the specimens of the animal and mineral kingdoms. "Among the luxuries of the present age, the most pure and unmixed is that afforded by collections of natural productions. In them we behold offerings as it were from all the inhabitants of the earth; and the productions of the most distant shores of the world are presented to our sight and consideration: openly and without reserve they exhibit the various arms, which they carry for their defence, and the instruments, with which they go about their various employments; and while every one of them celebrates its Maker's praise in a different manner, can any thing afford us a more innocent pleasure, a more noble or refined luxury, or one that charms us with greater variety?" Reflections of Linnæus, p. 20.

SECTION II. MINERALOGY.

III. The curiosity of man, still restless and active, continues its progress along the paths of nature with unabating ardour. After he has surveyed the wonders of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, he proceeds to those masses of unorganized matter, which are either found upon the surface, or concealed in the recesses of the earth; and thus he is led to mineralogy. The term mineral is commonly applied to any substance simple or compound, dug out of a subterraneous place or *mine*, from whence it takes its denomination. This science relates 1. to earth and stones in general; 2. salts; 3. inflammables; and 4. metals.

1. *Earth and stones in general* are, 1st. mould, the support of vegetables; 2nd, clays, which, mixed with water, harden in the fire into bricks, delf, china, &c. 3d, calcareous substances, as chalks, marls, limestones, marbles, convertible by heat into quicklime, and gypsum into alabaster;

thing is foreign to his pursuits; and nature, no less beautiful in her most minute details, than sublime in the disposition of her general laws, appears to display the whole of her magnificence only to the eyes of the chemical philosopher." Chaptal's Chemistry.

All material bodies are the subjects of chemical research. The solid and fluid matter composing the terraqueous globe which we inhabit; also air, light, and heat are subjects proper for the examination of the chemist.

The arts of dying, bleaching, tanning, glass-making, printing, working metals, &c. are purely chemical. The vegetation of plants, and some of the most important functions of animals have been explained upon the principles of chemistry. By means of this science agriculture and gardening have been greatly improved in Britain and other countries.

Chemistry directs the labours of the husbandman and the rural economist. In the dairy milk cannot be kept sweet and fresh, butter and cheese cannot be made without skill founded on chemical principles.

Cookery, and the art of curing and preserving beef, bacon, hams, and all animal and vegetable substances are entirely chemical. The art of brewing, distilling, and making all sorts of fermented liquors depends upon the principles of chemistry.

In medicine and pharmacy great benefits have been derived from the discoveries of chemical philosophers.

The chemist resolves bodies into their elementary principles, and examines their nature and properties when in a detached or simple state. He thus discovers their mutual relation to one another, and can recombine them in proportions different from those in which they were originally united. Hence new and useful compounds may be formed, which nature does not produce.

But Chemistry is not only valuable as an art which supplies many of the wants, comforts, and luxuries of life. Its objects are sublime and beautiful in another sense; for it is intimately connected with most of the phenomena of nature, as clouds, rain, snow, dew, wind, earthquakes, &c.

Thus may the curiosity of man be gratified by surveying the productions of nature; and thus the farther he extends his researches, the more reason will he find to ad-

mire the general economy of created beings. Whatever objects his eye beholds, whether small or great, he will see design and order impressed upon them, in the strongest and most distinct characters. The small and distant stars scattered over the blue vault of heaven, apparently so numerous as to baffle calculation, whether they shine only to afford us light, or whether they are the suns of other systems, and thus proclaim the illimitable extent of Almighty power, cannot fail to strike us with astonishment. The orbits of the planets, and the velocity with which they move, are both uniform and unchanging; their gravity is regulated by an infallible measure, and their *general* harmony is not interrupted by the slightest variation, disorder, or accident.

It may be proper to inform the reader that some disturbances are perceived by astronomers in the motions of the planets, which have led some of them to believe that the solar system would ultimately be destroyed. But all this apparent disorder, all the perturbations which are observed, nay, *all which can exist* in this system, are periodical, and are compensated in opposite points of every period. The mean distances of the planets, and the mean periods of their revolutions, remain for ever the same; so that, finally, the solar system seems calculated for almost eternal duration, without sustaining any deviations from its present state which will be perceived by any but astronomers. The display of wisdom in the selection of this law of mutual action, and in accommodating it to the various circumstances which contribute to this duration and constancy, is surely one of the most engaging objects that can attract the attention of mankind. The correction of these perturbations is the most wonderful event that occurs to us in the phenomena of the solar system, and must be attributed to the superintending providence of God. That so many disturbing forces of the planets should be exactly compensated at the end of a certain period must be the effect of design, and cannot be ascribed to chance. "Cold, says professor Robison, must be the heart that is not affected by this mark of beneficent wisdom in the Contriver of the magnificent fabric, so manifest in selecting for its connecting principle a power so admirably fitted for continuing to answer the purposes of its first formation." See Robison's Mechanical Philosophy, vol. i, p. 376 and 434.

The *Earth* performing its annual and diurnal circuit around the blazing centre of the system, so as to produce

a regular change of seasons, and a succession of light and darkness:—the *ocean* giving to mankind the constant advantages of its tides, and though frequently tempestuous, yet obeying the invariable laws of its flux and reflux, and never flowing beyond its prescribed bounds:—the *air*, which, from its pressure on the surface of our bodies, would crush us to the ground unless prevented by the elasticity of the air within us forming an exact counterbalance; all these things clearly demonstrate the power, the wisdom, and the benignity of an omnipotent Creator. Time and space, substance and heat, are the vast materials of nature; the wide universe is the sphere in which they act; and life, activity, and happiness, constitute the end of their operations. The whole race of *animals* preserved to the present time in the same flourishing state in which they were at first created; the rules which govern them, not varied by capricious chance, but administered with unalterable regularity; the impulse of instinct directing them to wholesome food, to the propagation of their kind, and to commodious habitations; the structure of their frames, and of every particular organ of action, so suitable to their immediate use; the several tribes of creatures subordinate to each other, conducive in various respects to the good of man; and the abundant provision made for their subsistence and continuance, are all evident and incontestible proofs of skill, contrivance, and power.

The human race, and all other beings, are formed with such exquisite ingenuity, that man is utterly insufficient to imitate the most simple fibre, vein, or nerve, much less to construct a hand, or any other organ of contrivance or execution. All living creatures, plants, animals, and men, constitute one chain of universal being from the beginning to the end of the world. Our own structure, and the formation of all around, above, and beneath us, in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, proclaim the operations of an all-wise and all-powerful Being, and the constant agency of his over-ruling providence. See Boyle's Usefulness of Natural Philosophy, part i, essay 3.

——————— Some within a finer mould
Are wrought, and tempered with a purer flame.
To these the Sire omnipotent unfolds
The world's harmonious volume, there to read
The transcript of himself. On every part
They trace the bright impressions of his hand
In earth or air, the meadow's purple stores,

The moon's mild radiance, or the virgin's form
Blooming with rosy smiles.
Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination.

"False schemes of natural philosophy like those of the ancients, may lead to atheism, or suggest opinions concerning the Deity, and the universe, of the most dangerous consequences to mankind. True philosophy will lead you to believe in, and adore, the Supreme Being; and as it continually exhibits brighter and brighter instances of his wisdom and power, it removes also, in part, that veil spread over nature, which conceals from our view its awful depths and majestic heights; and thus enables you to see the glories of the Almighty shining in this his exalted creation, and hence instructs you to raise your voice in praises to *Him*, who is alone worthy to receive glory and honour and power; for it is by *Him* that all things were created, and also that they are continually preserved."—Adams's Lectures, v. i, p. 22.

"That one great and universal mind, who made all things by his power, and preserves them in his goodness, is the first and only cause, operating at all times and in all places, and producing by an exertion of his will all the various phenomena of the material system. This first and universal cause, however, in the ordinary administration of his providence, hath condescended to employ second causes as the instruments of his will by which he acts; which second causes he hath also appointed in his wisdom to operate through every part of his creation by general laws. To trace the hand of the Almighty through all his works, to investigate these general causes, and to erect them into the laws of physics, is the sublime, the delectable, and honourable employment of the natural philosopher."—Fatham's Chart and Scale of Truth, vol. i, p. 133.

"The view of nature, which is the immediate object of sense, is very imperfect, and of a small extent; but, by the assistance of art, and the help of our reason, is enlarged till it loses itself in an infinity on either hand. The immensity of things on the one side, and their minuteness on the other, carry them equally out of our reach, and conceal from us the far greater and more noble part of physical operations. As magnitude of every sort, abstractly considered, is capable of being increased to infinity, and is also divisible without end; so we find that in nature the limits of the greatest and least dimensions of things are actually

placed at an immense distance from each other. We can perceive no bounds of the vast expanse in which natural causes operate, and can fix no border or termination of the universe; and we are equally at a loss when we endeavour to trace things to their elements, and to discover the limits which conclude the subdivisions of matter. The objects which we commonly call great, vanish when we contemplate the vast body of the earth: the terraqueous globe itself is soon lost in the solar system: in some parts it is seen as a distant star: in great part it is unknown, or visible only at rare times to vigilant observers, assisted, perhaps, with an art like to that by which *Galileo* was enabled to discover so many new parts of the system. The sun itself dwindles into a star; Saturn's vast orbit, and the orbits of all comets crowd into a point, when viewed from numberless places between the earth and the nearest fixed stars. Other suns kindle light to illuminate other systems, where our sun's rays are unperceived; but they are also swallowed up in the vast expanse. Even all the systems of the stars that sparkle in the clearest sky, must possess a small corner only of that space over which such systems are dispersed, since more stars are discovered in one constellation by the telescope, than the naked eye perceives in the whole heavens. After we have risen so high, and left all definite measures so far behind us, we find ourselves no nearer to a term or limit; for all this is nothing to what may be displayed in the infinite expanse, beyond the remotest stars that ever have been discovered.

If we descend in the scale of nature towards the other limit, we find a like gradation from minute objects to others incomparably more subtile, and are led as far below sensible measures as we were before carried above them, by similar steps that soon become hid to us in equal obscurity. We have ground to believe, that these subdivisions of matter have a termination, and that the elementary particles of bodies are solid and uncompounded, so as to undergo no alteration in the various operations of nature or of art. But from microscopical observations that discover animals, thousands of which could scarce form a particle perceptible to the unassisted sense, each of which has its proper vessels, and fluids circulating in those vessels; from the propagation, nourishment, and growth of those animals; from the subtility of the effluvia of bodies retaining their particular properties after so prodigious a rarifaction; from many astonishing experiments of chemists; and especially from the incon-

ceivable minuteness of the particles of light, that find a passage equally in all directions through the pores of transparent bodies, and from the contrary properties of the different sides of the same ray; it appears that the subdivisions of the particles of bodies descend by a number of steps or degrees that surpass all imagination, and that nature is inexhaustible by us on every side.

Nor is it in the magnitude of bodies only that this endless gradation is to be observed. Of motions, some are performed in moments of time, others are finished in very long periods; some are too slow, others too swift, to be perceptible by us. The tracing the chain of causes is the most noble pursuit of philosophy; but we meet with no cause but what is itself to be considered as an effect, and are able to number but few links of the chain. In every kind of magnitude, there is a degree or sort to which our sense is proportioned, the perception and knowledge of which is of the greatest use to mankind. The same is the ground work of philosophy; for though all sorts and degrees are equally the object of philosophical speculation, yet it is from those which are proportioned to sense, that a philosopher must set out in his inquiries, ascending or descending afterwards as his pursuits may require. He does well indeed to take his views from many points of sight, and supply the defects of sense by a well regulated imagination; nor is he to be confined by any limit in space or time: but as his knowledge of nature is founded on the observation of sensible things, he must begin with these, and must often return to them to examine his progress by them. Here is his secure hold; and as he sets out from thence, so if he likewise trace not often his steps backwards with caution, he will be in hazard of losing his way in the labyrinths of nature.

"From this short view of nature, and of the situation of man, considered as a spectator of its phenomena, and as an enquirer into its constitution, we may form some judgment of the project of those, who, in composing their systems, begin at the summit of the scale, and then by clear ideas pretend to descend through all its steps with great pomp and facility, so as in one view to explain all things. The processes in experimental philosophy are carried on in a different manner; the beginnings are less lofty, but the scheme improves as we arise from particular observations to more general and more just views. It must be owned, indeed, that philosophy would be perfect, if our view of n

ture, from the common objects of sense to the limits of the universe upwards, and to the elements of things downwards, was complete; and the power or causes that operate in the whole were known. But if we compare the extent of this scheme with the powers of mankind we shall be obliged to allow the necessity of taking it into parts, and of proceeding with all the caution and care we are capable of, in inquiring into each part. When we perceive such wonders, as naturalists have discovered in the minutest objects, shall we pretend to describe so easily the productions of infinite power in space, that is at the same time infinitely extended and infinitely divisible! Surely we may rather imagine that in the whole there will be matter for the inquiries and perpetual admiration of much more perfect beings." Maclaurin's Account of Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, p. 15.

It is thus, O GREAT AUTHOR of all things, PARENT OF LIFE, and SUPREME GOVERNOR of the world, we discover thee in thy works! Dark clouds rest upon thy hallowed and inaccessible habitation: but the beams of glory, darted from the eternal throne of thy divine majesty, shine around us on every side. We cannot with our mortal eyes behold thy presence; we cannot even look stedfastly upon the orb of day, thy glorious emblem: but we can in every part of the globe trace the plain vestiges of thy power, thy wisdom, and thy benevolence. Wherever a plant takes root and flourishes, wherever an animal appears, there art thou plainly discoverable. In the depths of the Pacific Ocean, in the boundless wilds of Africa, upon the snowy summits of the Alps, and along the vast range of the stupendous Andes, thou mayest be traced. Thy power and thy wisdom are evident in the formation of the fragrant rose, and the towering oak; in the gentle lamb, and the roaring lion; in the melodious nightingale, and the rapacious vulture. The exquisite construction of their respective parts proves the unskilfulness of man, even in his most elaborate productions and demonstrates thy admirable invention. Compared with thy works, how small, imperfect, and trifling are all the labours of art! since all that thou doest is marked with consummate skill and excellence. Thou hast concealed from our strictest and most persevering examination a knowledge of their essence; and as that knowledge would neither minister more abundantly to our comforts, nor augment our happiness, thy universal benevolence is displayed in what thou deniest, as well as in what thou givest. In thy

hands matter is supple, and prompt to receive every impression. At thy command it is formed into images, the most strongly marked by character, and the most varied by form—from the stern lineaments and shaggy covering of the lion, to the soft plumage and delicate shape of the dove. Thou hast impressed a never failing symmetry upon every created being of the same species, and endowed it with the same properties; and this unchanging execution and perpetuity of thy original design proves to us the undeviating regularity of thy plans. The same principles of fecundity produce each kind of animals; and the same modes of preservation continue, as at the moment when by thy creative voice they were first called into existence. The parents and the most distant offspring of animals are the same: preserving invariably through their successive generations the most exact resemblance of their original stock. The different kinds still continue unaltered in proportions, features, and strength, and they flourish in full youth, bloom, and vigour; and these are qualities not interrupted by the decay, or weakened by the old age of their species. Thou hast diversified the earth with hills and valleys, woods and plains, intersected it with rivers, lakes, and seas, affording to the eye of man the most enchanting prospects, and the most beneficial means to supply the wants of his nature, and guard him against the inclemency of the seasons. Thou hast clothed the surface of the earth with the refreshing verdure of grass, and the thick forests of stately trees; thou hast enriched it with such abundant vegetables, as are more immediately conducive to the sustenance of man; thou hast stored its bowels with those metals, which excite his industry, and minister to his accommodation. Foreseeing the adaptation and subordinate utility of various materials to the comfort of human life, thou hast provided them in abundance; thy bounty to all thy creatures is like the mighty ocean, flowing in perennial streams for every age: it is open to every eye, its treasures are enjoyed wherever they are sought, but its sources are unknown and unfathomable.

Our natural desire of acquiring knowledge is ever attended with a consciousness of our ignorance; and our pride is repressed at every step we take, by the limited nature of our faculties, and the tardy progress of our utmost diligence. The history of nature indeed, as far as our imperfect researches can extend to her general economy and laws, is the history of thy munificence to all creat-

ed beings: as we enlarge our acquaintance with it, the more do we understand our peculiar obligations, as creatures endued with reason, and enlightened by the revelation of thy will. Our knowledge, therefore, is only valuable as it leads to devotion, gratitude, and obedience, which constitute the due homage of wise and dependent beings*.

By looking back through the long series of past ages, we ascend to the development of thy creative power, as the primary cause of all existence; and we observe the proofs of thy omnipotence again manifested in the most tremendous manner, when at thy command the foundations of the deep were broken up, and the guilty race of men, except thy chosen servants, were overwhelmed in the general deluge; of which the monuments are spread over the whole globe, to perpetuate the remembrance of disobedience to thy commands. By looking around us, and surveying the wide prospects of nature, we see thee supreme in majesty, love, and mercy. Led by the light of science to survey the starry heavens, we behold thee exercising these thy attributes in other worlds; and communicating the blessings of existence and providential care to other systems of creation.

Thus extending its eager views to the contemplation of objects so vast, so various, and so magnificent, our souls feel the narrowness of their faculties to comprehend thy operations, and are overwhelmed in the contemplation of thy infinite power and transcendent glory; which only the bright orders of celestial beings—the angels and archangels, who encompass thy eternal throne, can adequately conceive, or duly celebrate.

The pleasures which arise from tracing thy power and

* "To consider God as governor of the world is the light wherein we ordinarily behold him, that which gives us the clearest conception we can entertain of him, which best answers all useful purposes, and has this peculiar advantage, that it represents his *goodness*, the attribute we are most interested with, in the fairest colours, as attentive to produce all the happiness possible for his creatures in the nature and constitution of things. This, when well inculcated, satisfies the minds of the vulgar, and would satisfy those of the speculative too, if they would abstain from idle questions concerning creation, and forbear to ask why things are not otherwise constituted, so that more happiness might have been produced than is now possible. For if we survey so much of nature as lies within the reach of our observation and reason, we shall find there is a balance of good sufficient to content any reasonable person."

Search's Light of Nature, vol. ii, p. 274.

goodness will doubtless become incomparably more exalted, refined, and exquisite, when the faithful followers of thy beloved Son, our adorable Redeemer, shall be admitted to the realms of heaven and glory, and our souls disengaged from all earthly impediments, shall ascend above the stars, and resemble those immortal hosts of angelic beings;—when the most accurate, most enlarged, and most interesting knowledge will form a part of our eternal happiness;—when the restless mind of man shall no longer form wild and inconsistent theories to account for the formation of the globe; *but the volume of universal nature shall be unfolded to his astonished eyes;*—when the laws which regulate all orders of created beings shall be fully developed and clearly comprehended, and man shall learn the true constitution of the world he now inhabits, from the time when discordant matter first obeyed thy Almighty word, and was called into harmony and order, to the last awful period of its existence!

CLASS THE FIFTH.

POLITE LITERATURE AND ARTS.

CHAPTER I.

TASTE.

THE abuse of words is a very frequent and just subject of complaint among those, who endeavour to communicate knowledge, and rectify misconception. There are some, which are used in a manner so extremely vague and fluctuating, as not to convey any precise or exact meaning. This remark cannot be applied to any word with more propriety than to TASTE: for as it passes current in common language, if its meaning can be at all fixed to any definite idea, it denotes no more than singularity, or fastidious refinement; and is often employed to express any predilection for objects, which the most capricious mind can form, without the least reference to their utility, ornament, or beauty.

In order therefore to give an exact idea of a word, which must necessarily occur very frequently in the course of this and the following chapter, it is necessary to premise, that by Taste is intended to be understood the power which the mind possesses, of relishing the beauties found in the works of nature and art.

> " Say what is Taste, but the internal powers,
> Active and strong, and feelingly alive
> To each fine impulse? a discerning sense
> Of decent and sublime, with quick disgust
> From things deform'd." AKENSIDE.

As we consider taste as a general principle, natural to every mind which possesses the faculties of judgment and sensibility in a competent degree, we cannot suppose that it is confined to the polished part of mankind. On the contrary, it is as common to a rude state of society, as it is to an early period of life. The wild tribes, who inhabit the interior parts of America, contemplate their extensive lakes with astonishment, and gaze upon the starry heavens with delight. There is a majesty and a vastness in these objects of nature, which affect the soul through the medium of the eye, and impress it with great ideas. The same savages decorate themselves with shells and feathers of various colours, compose songs of love and war in rude numbers, and adapt them to the animating sounds of different instruments of music. With similar indications of pleasure children discover a fondness for the beauties of nature, and for all kinds of imitation; the most imperfect drawings and figures of animals, bright colours, and every species of novelty give them great delight; and they listen with admiration to the singing of birds, or the murmur of a cascade. So extensive are the general perceptions of beauty, harmony, and imitation, that they seem as natural to the human mind, as the universal principles of justice and truth.

But although education is not essential to the existence of taste, it is absolutely necessary in order to bring it to maturity. This plant, which grows in many soils, must be reared with care, to be brought to perfection in any. Its progress towards refinement is exactly in proportion to the activity of the mind, the extent of its observations, and the improvement of general knowledge. In phlegmatic persons it is languid and inactive, and is rather a passive acquiescence in the discoveries of others, than an original perception of their own. From a constitutional indifference, or a

dulness of organs, they are slow in deciding upon the beauty of any object presented to them; and when they finally decide, they often express themselves in vague and unappropriate language, which conveys only some confused notions of satisfaction. They pronounce the same opinion of objects the most dissimilar; they say equally of a miniature picture and St. Paul's Cathedral, that they are "charming," or "very fine;" and thus conceal the indistinctness of their ideas, or their want of sensibility, under the convenient disguise of indiscriminate and general terms.

A refined taste depends upon sensibility for its acuteness, and upon judgment for its correctness. Sensibility may be compared to the quickness of the eye, which extends its rapid glance to the largest objects, and yet can discern even the most minute. It renders the mind alive to all the impressions made by external objects, as it is powerfully affected by every surrounding scene. This amiable quality is the source of the benevolent affections, and animates the soul with pity, love, friendship, and benevolence. As any of these virtues may degenerate into weakness, from an excess of sensibility, so likewise the decisions on the works of art may be fantastic and frivolous, unless they are regulated by cool and deliberate judgment. These principles of true taste stand in need of mutual aid, since the determinations of the judgment are cold and lifeless by themselves, and each effort of sensibility is liable to degenerate into a blind impulse, if not attended by the approbation of the judgment. If the precision of Aristotle had been enlivened by such warm feelings as those of Longinus, his celebrated Treatise on Poetry would have possessed more attractions; and if Longinus had restrained the flights of his fancy with the logical precision of the Stagyrite, he would have defined the various beauties of composition with more accuracy, and left a more perfect work.

A relish for those obvious beauties, which strike the senses, depends upon a greater or less degree of sensibility; but in order to form a just and correct opinion of a work of genius, so many circumstances must be brought under consideration, so many qualities and relations of objects ought to be remarked, discriminated, and compared; and the design of the writer or artist ought to be so well ascertained, and such an enlarged observation both of nature and art are absolutely requisite, that no one who is not possessed of sound judgment and enlarged experience, is qualified to pass a public and authoritative opinion.

And as judgment refines and matures the principle of taste, it follows from the gradual improvement of that faculty of the mind, that taste is capable of very high improvement. A child is pleased with the most incorrect imitations of the human figure: as he grows older he derives greater pleasure from more perfect resemblances; he looks with indifference or contempt upon what he at first admired, and smiles at his own simplicity for having ever thought it worth his attention. The principle of taste is the same in his ripe as in his early years; it is only corrected by more accurate comparisons, and matured by more enlarged observation. In the course of his remarks he not only learns to value the finest productions of art, in preference to such as are less perfect: but by being conversant with them he gradually acquires a more delicate perception of beauty. He who has been unaccustomed to music, when he first hears a sublime chorus of Handel, however he may be gratified by the general effect of the concert, is not immediately sensible of the charms of composition, and the masterly adaptation of the several parts to each other. He does not distinguish their close connexion, relation, and contrast. He who surveys a picture by Raphael may be struck by the brilliancy of his colours, and the majesty of his figures; but it is only by repeated inspection, that he becomes well acquainted with the unaffected grace and noble simplicity of his designs. The boy in reading Homer is amused by the variety of incidents, and warmed by the animated descriptions of his battles. Repeated perusals however can only inspire him with a relish for the harmony of the versification, the accuracy of the descriptions, and the admirable variety of the characters. Thus by the force of habit and reflection the man of taste is formed: even his faculties of seeing and hearing become more acute by exercise; and he gradually acquires a true relish for all the particular and latent beauties of which in early life he had no adequate conception.

The advance of national taste is similar to the progress of taste from childhood to manhood. When the attention of an unpolished people is first directed to works of art, they are captivated by mere novelty; and the rudest paintings and most unpolished verses obtain their applause. In proportion as superior efforts of genius are made, the opinion of the judicious part of the public, at least, becomes more correct; and what at first delighted is finally rejected with disapprobation. As soon as comparisons are made between

ferent productions of the same kind, true taste is brought into action, its decisions are called for, and the justness of its discriminations is universally acknowledged. The polished contemporaries of Horace blushed at the praises, which their ancestors had bestowed upon the rude dialogues of Plautus, and were charmed with the polite and elegant comedies Terence. The taste of refined persons of the present age is more favourable to the delicate humour of Addison, and the pointed satire of Swift, than the broad burlesque of Rabelais, or the indecent scenes of Beaumont and Fletcher. By our ancestors, romances which contained the marvellous adventures of wandering knights, distressed damsels, and formidable giants, intermixed with exaggerated sentiment and inflated passion, cold description and intricate incident, were read with eargerness. As however the improving good sense of the nation began to dislike works that were the offspring of mere fiction, many of the more modern writers have shown their abilities in the composition of novels, which please in proportion as they embellish the scenes of nature with lively colours, introduce probable, yet uncommon incidents, describe the passions with warmth, and paint such characters, as, without deviating too far from real life, strike by their novelty and spirit. From the happy mixture of these ingredients, combined in various proportions, has resulted the popularity of Robinson Crusoe, Roderic Random, Tom Jones, and the Vicar of Wakefield.

Hence it appears, that, as often as mankind have a fair opportunity of making proper comparisons, true taste always triumphs over false. Good models quickly attract judicious admirers; the offspring of caprice and licentious imagination sinks gradually into neglect and oblivion; and succeeding ages, profiting by the errors and miscarriage of the past, and persevering in repeated trials, make more rapid and close approaches to the regions of nature and truth.

This refinement in national taste is not more observable at one period of time, than degeneracy is at another. After the great standards of literature had been erected by the writers of the Augustan age, the taste of the Romans in succeeding times was vitiated by affectation and a rage for novelty. The copiousness of Cicero, the correctness of Virgil, and the perspicuity of Cæsar gave way to the elaborate neatness of Pliny, the lofty but sometimes puerile flights of Lucan, and the affected sententiousness of Seneca. The same degeneracy was visible in all the arts. The elegant

sculpture which adorned the column of Trajan was succeeded by the basso relievo of a ruder kind, which surrounds the column of Constantine; and the pictures, lately discovered among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, prove that the art of painting was on the decline about the same period. Succeeding ages sunk much lower in the scale of imitative excellence; or, in other words, contributed to bring back the savage state of mankind, since the Goths and Vandals, barbarous conquerors of Rome, waged war against the arts, as well as the persons of their foes. In one of the darkest ages of Gothic ignorance the works of Cicero, Tacitus, and Livy were publicly committed to the flames in almost every part of Christendom, by order of a bigotted pope; and considering that such persecution was carried on against literature, we cannot be surprised that at the same time a childish play of words was regarded as exquisite wit, and the wildest rhapsodies, destitute of the smallest intermixture of genius, were applauded as correct compositions.

But even when the arts have obtained a high degree of perfection, the common people never reach any refinement of taste, except in those remarkable cases, when a peculiar art coincides with their natural temper, and has been long cultivated and admired. The Athenians could decide with accuracy upon the merits of Demosthenes as a public speaker; and in the present age the Italians are celebrated as excellent judges of music. In most countries, novelty in every form of extravagance, broad humour, and caricature paintings and drawings afford the greatest delight to the populace. This preference is congenial with their general love of coarse pleasures, and distinguishes the multitude from the more polite classes of every nation. The inferior orders of society are therefore disqualified from deciding upon the merits of the fine arts; and the department of taste is consequently confined to persons enlightened by education, and conversant with the world, whose views of nature, art, and mankind, are enlarged by an extensive range of observation, and elevated far above gross ignorance and vulgar prejudice.

Still, however, persons of cultivated taste must be sensible, that there are limits, to which the improvement of taste ought to be confined, as if they wish to enjoy the largest share of pleasure that it is capable of affording.

> Right ever reigns its stated bounds between,
> And taste, like morals, loves the golden mean.
> Mason's Fresnoy, l. 98.

Is it not possible that our decisions may become too fastidious, and that our judgment may be occupied only in discerning trivial faults, and thus may divert the attention from those great and distinguishing beauties, which called forth all the soul of the writer or artist? This disposition of mind is like an extreme irritability of temper, or a weak texture of nerves, which is liable to be disordered by the slightest accidents, and which so far from being proofs of sound health, are rather symptoms of infirmity and disease. The feelings of that connoisseur are not to be envied, who turns from the majestic forms and glowing colours of Rubens, as displayed in the marriage of Mary de Medicis, to censure the introduction of flying cupids and other allegorical figures; nor can he be denied to sacrifice his pleasure to petty discernment, who prides himself upon discovering that in the spirited equestrian figures of Charles at Charing Cross, and of Louis XVI. which formerly adorned the Place de Vendome at Paris, girths are wanted to the saddles; that the fingers of the Venus de Medicis are without joints, and that some reverses of the exquisite Greek medals of the Syrian and Egyptian kings are of rude execution. Such nicety of observation is by no means desirable; as, instead of enlarging the circle of mental pleasures, which is the great excellence of taste, it contributes to contract them, and makes a person severe in his censure of defects, which he ought to excuse for the sake of the beauties to which they are allied.

"There is more true taste in drawing forth one latent beauty, than in observing a hundred obvious imperfections; the first proves that our spirit co-operates with that of the artist; the second shows nothing more, than that we have eyes, and that we use them to very little purpose." Webb on painting, p. 13.

The man of taste extends his observations to the appearances of nature, as well as the productions of art. He discovers beauties wherever they are to be found in the works of God and of man, and is charmed with the harmony and order of the different parts of the creation, and with the endless variety of new objects, which nature presents to his view. The flowers as they disclose their vivid hues, the animals that move in comely symmetry, the ocean that now spreads its smooth surface, and now heaves its tempestuous waves on high, the mountains that swell in rugged majesty, the valleys clothed in verdant attire, the splendid luminary whose beams disclose the beauties of the world, and

who decks the face of nature with brighter charms, the blue concave of heaven spangled with countless stars, and illumined by the soft effulgence of the moon—all these come under the observation of taste, and supply it with abundant sources of enjoyment.

Taste presides with supreme authority over all the elegant arts. There are none so low in their subserviency to the uses of mankind, as not to afford subjects for its decisions. It extends its influence to dress, furniture, and equipage; but presides, as in its most distinguished and eminent provinces, over poetry, eloquence, painting, architecture, sculpture, and music; because among them genius takes its unbounded range, and exerts its fullest power.

By Genius is generally meant a disposition of nature which qualifies any one for a peculiar employment in life: but in its highest sense, considered with reference to the fine arts, it may be described to be that faculty of the mind which unites *the greatest quickness of sensibility, and fervour of imagination, to an extraordinary ease in associating the most remote ideas in the most striking manner.** However bold and adventurous the man of genius may be in his flights of fancy, he seldom soars without the guidance of judgment; for judgment will not often be found to desert the art, which is its peculiar and favourite subject. He delights to strike out a new and original track, and performs without effort, under the powerful influence of that enthusiasm, which gives spirit to all his works, what was never before attempted or executed. He disdains not the aid of other minds, but studies their productions with care; and while he is cautious not to contract a bigotted attachment to any particular predecessor, he enlarges the circle of his ideas with the perfections that are dispersed among many artists or writers, and appropriates them to his own use, by giving them superior energy, elegance, and splendour. He thus aspires to excellence peculiar to himself, by giving grace to the little, and dignity to the mean; by diffusing an air of novelty around the most familiar objects; by painting nature in every pleasing form, attitude and colour; and by expressing at will the powerful emotions of the passions. In the wide circle of art and nature he assumes whatever form he chooses, and in every form delights by novelty, captivates

* Dryden's Letter to Howard, vol. i, p. 47. Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination, book i. Webb on Painting, Poetry, and Music, p. 151. Du Bos, tom. ii, p. 14. Reynolds, p. 203, 212, 213, 237, 266.

by beauty, or astonishes by sublimity. Every art is a vehicle of genius, whether it strikes the mind with admiration in the attractive loveliness of the Venus de Medicis, in the sublimity of a chorus of Handel, or in the divine Madonna of Raphael. Literary productions present it to us in the Battles of Homer, the Odes of Pindar, Dryden, and Gray, and the tragedies of Sophocles and Shakspeare. The man of genius cannot possibly from the natural imperfection of mortals, be always equal, and sublime. Like the eagle, he does not pursue his course at the same height to which he occasionally rises; but still, if ever he descends, the same original character and the same majesty are visible, as he walks upon earth, which distinguish him when soaring to the skies.

As this rare and wonderful faculty of genius is free and unrestrained in the exercise of its powers, and the extent of its operations, so is it likewise unconfined in its origin. It is the offspring of no particular country or age, although some particular places and times are more prolific in its productions than others. In the early periods of Grecian history the sun of genius shone forth with full splendour in Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Pindar, Theocritus, Plato, Demosthenes, Praxiteles, Phidias, and Apelles. When Rome attempted to emulate Greece in the cultivation of arts and literature, it fired the bosoms of Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Tibullus, Livy, and Cicero. After a long night of mental darkness, it rose again in Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, and Raphael; and finally penetrated the Island of Great Britain, to illuminate Shakspeare, Milton, Dryden, and Thomson.

Genius never displays its peculiar power so much as by taking its flight from the incidents of its own experience, and ascending, to the heights of invention. The painter and the poet look around upon all the works of nature, compare her various forms with each other, mark their defects and excellences with a penetrating eye, and from this wide survey acquire a just idea of beauty. Thus from the select charms of various nymphs did Zeuxis compose the inimitable figure of his Helen; and thus did Cicero, who relates the anecdote with peculiar elegance of description, model his own flowing style, and frame his luminous composition by studying the copiousness of Plato, the energy of Demosthenes, and the sweetness of Isocrates. Cicero de Inventione, lib. ii. Quint. lib. x, c. 1. By words or by colours the man of genius expresses an exact resem

blance of the archetype, which fills and sublimes his fancy. Not that by such a refinement he ever deserts nature, for then he would only describe the phantoms of a disordered intellect; but by confining the offspring of his invention within the limits of good sense and probability, he gives more beauty to description, more strength to passion, more grace, dignity, and perfection to character, than are usually to be met with in real life. The chief merit of this representation of ideal excellence consists in marking an object with such peculiar features, as are eminently just, natural, and attracting, at the same time that the pleasure derived from these circumstances is increased by a happy effort, to exalt the dignity of man, and refine the charms of nature. The prolific powers of the mind occupied continually in combining remote images, in selecting the choicest circumstances, and in contrasting opposite passions and effects, produced the landscapes of Claude Lorraine, the cartoons of Raphael, and the characters and actions of the Iliad.

If genius, which is the soul and the animating principle of invention, both in literature and the fine arts, be wanted, no other excellence of an inferior kind can compensate its absence. An heroic poem, or a tragedy, may be written with the most exact attention to the rules of criticism, the versification may be polished and harmonious, it may be replete with fine morality, and enlivened by brilliant imagery: yet still a work may have few charms to fix the attention of a judicious reader. Tired of the insipidity and tameness of a narrative in verse, he quits the Henriade of Voltaire for the Illiad of Homer; and after having confined his reluctant eye to the cold sentiments of Cato, and the lofty diction of Irene, he flies with redoubled pleasure to the eventful scenes and fervid passions delineated in Macbeth and Othello.

Hence it appears, that to strike the mind with force and surprise, to impress upon every one its own vivid and glowing sensations, to set all objects strongly and perfectly before the fancy, and to produce a kind of *dramatic* effect, as if persons were acting, and objects were presented before our eyes, are the certain effects of genius. Homer, the great father of epic poetry, moves us by a kind of enchantment, and seizes the mind by the irresistible magic of his art. He resembles his own Demodocus*, the blind

* Homeri Odyss. lib. viii, l. 62, &c. lib. xiii, l. 28, &c. Othello, act i. scene 3.

and venerable bard of Phæacia, who by his animating song and powerful harmony rouses the passions at will, and fires the soul with alternate joy and grief. Shakspeare, the immortal dramatist of the British stage, is like his own Othello, when conversing with Desdemona, as he excites the strongest interest in those who listen to his descriptions, and gives even to repetition the potent charms of love and delight. The memory grasps with a strong and lasting hold the works of such a genius. What is once read is rarely forgotten; and what has been once enjoyed by the reader is always recollected, without any diminution of the first pleasure. Who can peruse without emotion, or call to mind without feeling the mingled sensations of pleasure and surprise which he originally felt, the parting interview of Hector and Andromache in the Iliad, the conversation of Macbeth with his wife after the murder of Duncan, and the wild and terrific denunciations of the Bard of Gray?

The fondness, which superficial observers express, for new and extraordinary objects, usually fluctuates in uncertainty, and is frequently founded on caprice: but true taste is ever regulated by a fixed standard*. This standard is supported by the impartial sentiments of the judicious and the enlightened; and the authority of such decisions depends not upon the consent of persons of any country in particular, when national prejudices or local habits pervert the judgment. It is not founded upon the partiality of a few admirers, who raise an author to temporary distinction; but it is an union of just conclusions, deduced from sound principles of reason. It is derived from the concurrent voices of men of various ages and nations, possessed of enlarged and cultivated understandings, who have surveyed the works of genius with close attention, and have recorded in animated descriptions the impressions made upon their minds. This authority has stamped its approbation upon works which have obtained the general applause of all ages and countries, and must still continue to produce a similar effect, so long as the intellectual powers of man remain the same;—so long as his imagination and his heart are capable of being effected by all that is beautiful, pathetic, and sublime.

The public opinion seldom fixes the stamp of permanent approbation upon works of genius before a considerable

* Reynolds's Discourses, p. 295. Elements of Criticism, vol. ii, p. 497. Du Bos, tom. ii, p. 336. Polite Literature, vol. ii, p. 30.

time has elapsed. Fame is a plant that comes late to maturity; and it never flourishes more vigorously, takes deeper root, or puts forth more luxuriant branches, than after it has been checked in its early growth. Those works, which are highly commended as soon as they are published, rarely maintain their reputation through succeeding ages, because their claim to distinction is built upon limited views of nature, the fashions, the follies, or the vices of the times. Their attractions cease as soon as the originals from which they are taken are impaired or destroyed by age. The Hudibras of Butler, shares the fate of all occasional satire, and is now more praised than read. The poems of Churchill, and the life of Tristram Shandy, have gradually declined in popularity, since the death of their respective authors. What degree of applause have the Probationary Odes, or the scurrilous productions of Peter Pindar, to expect from the dispassionate and cool judgment of a distant age?

Early fame is seldom the harbinger of future glory. While the public opinion is depressed too low by the envy of rivals and detractors, or raised too high by the flattery of injudicious friends, no fair decision can be expected. Time alone can overcome these obstructions and cause the agitation and the conflict of prejudice and partiality to subside. A considerable period may indeed elapse before an equitable posterity will make amends for the injustice of their forefathers; but in the mean time this soothing consolation may cheer the drooping spirits of neglected genius —that a few years will put an end to the attacks of slander and envy; that though his works may outlive the partiality of friends, they will triumph over the malignity of enemies; that they will pass like gold from the furnace pure and unhurt, through variations of taste and changes of manners; and that the longer they remain, the brighter will be their fame, and the more durable their honour. The final decision of mankind is seldom if ever wrong, because it results from the upright motives and unprejudiced examination of those who have no interest in traducing merit, or in depriving it of reward. The animosity of party spirit for a long time obstructed the reputation of the Paradise Lost; and the productions of Shakspeare and of Racine obtained their just estimation, not from their contemporaries, but from the generations that succeeded them*.

* "On the whole it seems to me, said Sir Joshua Reynolds, with his usual justness of observation, that there is but one presiding prin-

Authority lends its assistance to regulate private judgment; but its dictates are not so rigorous, nor its decisions so arbitrary, as to exclude the privilege which every one may rightly claim, of judging for himself. It is not because Aristotle, Horace, and Quintilian have laid down the rules of criticism, that we must implicitly bow to their authority. It is because their rules are derived from the works which they criticize,—works which have been distinguished by the admiration of the most improved part of mankind, from their first appearance to the present times. It is therefore with good reason Longinus has made the concurrent applause of persons of different ages, various characters and languages, a criterion of the true sublime. The sensible part of mankind, as we have before remarked, possess in common the principles of taste, to which every production of literature and the arts may be referred. But it may abate the vanity of those who judge with precipitation, to recollect how often their final determinations have differed from their first opinions. From an impatience of control, a pride of singularity, and a rage for novelty, we may revolt against the established decrees of the republic of letters, and the schools of the arts: but mature reflection upon the grounds on which these decrees were pronounced, more complete and more distinct views of nature, and our own more enlarged experience, will induce us to allow their propriety, and acknowledge their justice. We may think indeed that the chain of prescription is apt to bind us too closely; but, if we proceed upon right principles, we shall at length come to the exact point, from which we were eager to recede. We shall abandon the pride of singularity as puerile and weak, and be happy to enlist under the standard of the sagacious part of mankind. "The addition of other men's judgment is so far from weakening, as is the opinion of many, our own, that it will fashion and consolidate those ideas of excellence, which lay in their birth feeble, ill-shaped, and confused; but which are finished and put in order by the authority and practice of those, whose works may be said to have been consecrated by having stood the test of ages." Reynolds's Discourses.

ciple which regulates and gives stability to every art. The works, whether of poets, painters, moralists, or historians, which are built upon general nature, live for ever; while those which depend for their existence upon particular customs and habits, a partial view of nature, or the fluctuation of fashion can only be coeval with that which first raised them from obscurity. Present time and future may be considered as rivals; and he who solicits the one, must expect to be discountenanced by the other." Discourses, p. 146.

The tales of Ovid delight the imagination of boys, at a time when they peruse many passages of Virgil with indifference: in riper years they gradually experience an alteration of opinion, and applaud the correctness and delicacy of the one, in proportion as they disapprove the improbable fictions and puerile descriptions of the other. The glowing and gorgeous tints of the Florence school please the eye at the first view; but it requires time and comparison to relish the simple majesty and sublime forms of the Roman artists.

Of a pure and correct taste, the genuine offspring is candid and enlightened criticism. A good critic answers to the character which Pope has so finely drawn of Longinus. He is

> "An ardent judge, who, faithful to his trust,
> With warmth gives sentence, and is always just."

It is his province to determine the general laws of the arts, to assign their beauties to particular classes, and to explain the reasons of their affecting the mind with pleasure. He observes irregularities with a penetrating eye, and discovers that precise character of excellence or defect, by which every work is respectively marked.

Although such is the proper description of a critic, we may venture to pronounce, that all who are commonly known by that name have not an equal claim to our approbation. *Scaliger*, the enthusiastic admirer of Virgil, endeavoured to raise the fame of that elegant poet by depreciating Homer; and the deep and various learning displayed in his critical works is but a slight palliation for the weakness of his arguments, and the violence of his prejudices. *Hurd*, the ingenious annotator on Horace, is deservedly esteemed as an eminent scholar, and a correct writer: but surely in his critical productions he discovers much cold precision of remark, and much fondness for systematic trifling. *Warburton*, considered as a commentator on Shakspeare, showed a great degree of ingenuity; but it was too often exerted without judgment and without taste. He only saw in his author what he predetermined to see, and thus frequently sacrificed the sense of Shakspeare to the caprices of his own fancy. He amuses his readers by his specious arguments, more than he instructs them by his explanation of obscure passages. Comprehensive as was the mind of *Johnson*, his judgment was often perverted by prejudice; and in his Lives of the English Poets, much as they abound with solid

observations, and just principles of criticism, he had too little relish for works of pure imagination, and was too sparing in his concessions to the muses of Milton and of Gray. If we wish to be directed to authors, who were eminent for correctness of taste, we may select in painting *Fresnoy*, *Vasari*, and *Reynolds;* in music, *Burney;* in eloquence, *Cicero* and *Quintilian;* and in poetry, *Horace*, *Pope*, *Gray* and the *Wartons*. These were critics, who had the singular merit of teaching that art in which they were themselves distinguished; and their own works are an example and an illustration of their rules. They knew the difficulty that attends every attempt to reach the summit of excellence; and therefore, in the distribution of their censure and their praise, they were considerate, generous, and candid. Their various knowledge, extensive experience, and refined judgment, qualified them for their important office as arbiters of merit; and they deserve the earnest attention of the public, when they preside at the tribunal of taste, and pass sentence upon the works of literature and the arts.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

MUSIC and *poetry* considered as conveying a very high degree of pleasure to the ear and the imagination, engage the immediate notice of the critic: *painting*, which is an equal source of gratification to the eye, as properly belongs to the province of the connoisseur, as music.

I. MUSIC.

"*What kinds of musical tones are most grateful to the ear?* Such as are produced by the vocal organ. And next to singing *what kinds of sounds are most pleasing?* Those which approach the nearest to vocal. Which are they? Such as can be sustained, swelled, and diminished at pleasure. Of these the first in rank are the violin, flute, and Hautbois. *But what instrument is capable of the greatest effects?* The organ; which can not only imitate a number

occupations of his youth. His soul is melted with tenderness inexpressible, and his passion to return home produces a deep despondency, which nothing but the enjoyment of these beloved objects can effectually remove*.

Nor is the mind less pleasingly affected by the power of sacred music when the various excellence of melody and harmony is united in its subjects. How graceful to a good ear are the anthems of Kent, Boyce, and Hayes, when sung by some of the best choristers; whom St. James's Chapel; Magdalen College, Oxford; and Trinity, Cambridge, can boast;—and how divine are the airs of Handel when warbled from the lips of a Mara, a Billington, and a Harrison! They disengage our minds from the vulgar objects of life, lull our passions and our cares to repose, and remind us of the pleasure enjoyed by our first parents when listening to the music of the angels in the garden of Eden.

——————— How often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to others note,
Singing their great Creator? Oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number joined, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to heaven.
Paradise Lost, book 4.

In perfect and full *harmony*, the different parts of a musical composition are so combined and justly adapted, that no discord results from their number. The various notes are so ingeniously blended, there is such an happy union of the loud and the soft tones, of stringed and of wind instruments, of vocal and instrumental power, that the ear is filled, not overwhelmed; transported, nor distracted. The efficacy of the principles upon which harmony depends is so great, that they are able even of themselves, without calling in the aid of the passions, to produce considerable pleasure. To be sensible of this pleasure, however, depends as much upon skill as a practitioner, as upon taste as a connoisseur.

The prevailing fashion of the present times is by no means

* The bands belonging to the Swiss regiments in the French service were prohibited from playing this tune to the Swiss, as it had caused many of them to desert.

favourable to the union of the best efforts of poetry with the noblest productions of music. Handel indeed gave new charms to the lyric music of Dryden, and Arne composed the opera of Artaxerxes in the most delightful style. But the sound and the sense, far from possessing uniform spirit, are in more recent productions, especially in several Italian operas, a heavy burthen upon the exertions of each other. The most insipid airs are not "married to immortal verse," but united to unmeaning words, and their alliance is forced and unnatural. Nothing indeed can be more tiresome or absurd than *recitative* in general. It has neither the charm of singing, nor the intelligible expression of plain speech, as it consists of an unmeaning quantity of notes brought together to the confusion of all sense. "What can be more contrary to nature than the singing a whole piece from beginning to end, as if the persons represented were ridiculously matched, and had agreed to settle in music both the most common and most important affairs of life. Is it to be imagined that a master calls his servant, or sends him on an errand singing; that one friend imparts a secret to another singing; that men deliberate in council, and that orders in the field of battle are given singing; and that men are melodiously killed with swords and darts? This is the downright way to lose the life of representation, which without doubt is preferable to that of harmony; for harmony ought to be no more than a bare attendant, and the great masters of the stage have introduced it as pleasing, not as necessary, after they have performed all that relates to the subject and discourse. Nevertheless, our thoughts run more upon the performers than the hero in the opera, and Viganoni and Morelli are seldom out of our minds. The mind not being able to conceive a hero that sings, runs to the actor or the actress; and there is no question but that in our most fashionable operas, Banti, or Bolla are a hundred times more thought of than Zenobia, or Dido*."

In our most fashionable concerts, instrumental performance is, in many instances, carried to such a degree of vicious refinement, that one sense is gratified at the expense

* "These remarks of St. Evremond relate to the musical *tragedy* of the Italians. With respect to the musical *comedy* or burletta, it affords an additional proof how little music, as such, is able to support itself. In the tragic opera it borrows aid from the timidity of the poetry; in the comic from the powers of ridicule, to which music has not the least relation." Hawkins on Music, p. 74. Preface.

of another; since it is converted into an amusement for the eye, rather than a delight to the ear, or a solace to the mind. The brilliant execution of an eminent performer, displayed in some hasty and trifling symphony, quartetto, or quintetto of his own is regarded as an excellence of the first value. Salomon, Pinto, and Raimondi, are recommended for habitual skill, and mechanical dexterity, and the rapidity with which they can run through passages in the smallest space of time. The audience judge of such music by the difficulty of its execution; they lavish their praise upon the principal performer, but are unmoved by the music, and their applause operates as an encouragement to new extravagance of the same kind. But amid this prevailing taste which leads to what is capricious and desultory, a judicious hearer seeks for delight in the compositions of Purcell, Jomelli, Handel, and Haydn. He prefers the steady and spirited performance of their works to the modish refinements in practice, and what are deemed the improvements in the power of execution; because he *feels* that the productions of these great composers are original and spirited, truly grand and affecting, and exert the sweetest influence of harmony over his mind.

II. PAINTING.

The art of painting gives the most direct and expressive representation of objects; so that probably for this reason it was originally employed by many nations, before the introduction of letters, to communicate their thoughts and to convey intelligence to distant places. The Egyptians pourtrayed their ideas by tracing the resemblance of plants and animals; and the Mexicans conveyed to their emperor Montezuma the information of the arrival of the Spaniards upon their coasts, by sending him a picture representative of the event. The pencil may be said to write a universal language; for every one can instantly understand the meaning of a painter, provided he be faithful to the rules of his art. His skill enables him to open the various scenes of nature at one view; and by his delineation of the striking effects of passion, he instantaneously penetrates and agitates the soul of the spectator. The influence of the pencil indeed is so great and extensive, that its productions have constantly been the delight of all countries of the

world, and of all seasons of life*. Poetry and painting are sister arts; if the latter borrow many subjects from the former, the obligation is repaid by the glowing metaphors and striking illustrations, with which painting requites poetry. The Grecian painters caught many of their finest ideas from poets and historians. The imagination of Phidias was aided in forming his Olympian Jupiter by the sublime description of Homer. The horrid story of Count Ugolino and his family, as described in the expressive strains of Dante, in his Inferno, gave a noble subject to the bas-relief of Michael Angelo, and was afterwards as affectingly represented by the masterly pencil of Reynolds. Gray, when describing the bard, says,

> "Loose his beard, and hoary hair
> Streamed, like a meteor, to the troubled air:"

He is supposed to have recollected the celebrated picture of Raphael, at Florence, representing the Supreme Being, in the vision of Ezekiel.

A good picture produces a momentary enchantment, carries us beyond ourselves, and either transports us into the midst of the most delightful scenery, or places us by the side of saints, martyrs, and heroes. It brings before us the most eminent persons, either living or dead, charms the imagination with their ideal presence, and assists us while we contemplate their persons, and examine the expression of their features, to recal the memory of their virtues. It amuses the eye with the views of nature, however remote the original scenes may be from the spectator, and gives to the Swede or the Russian the fair portrait of Circassian beauty, or the bright and smiling objects of Italian scenery. The landscapes of Claude Lorraine delight the eye with the rich selection of palaces, extensive prospects, and glowing skies. The sea views of Vandervelde are justly admired for truth and accuracy. The portraits of Vandyke charm by lively expression of character, grace of design, and delicacy of colouring. Hogarth displays that just representation of common manners, which conveys to every spectator a moral lesson.

* Richardson, chap. i. Quintilian, lib. xii, c. 10. Reynolds, p. 101. The peculiar beauties of the great masters of the Italian schools are finely touched by Fresnoy. l. 519, &c. His poem *De Arte Graphica*, with the translation of Mason, and the notes of Reynolds, furnishes the general rules of the art, and therefore may supply the principles of criticism.

——————— Thy works a school,
Where strongly painted in gradations nice,
The pomp of folly, and the shame of vice
Reached through the laughing eye the mended mind,
And moral humour sportive art refined.
While fleeting manners as minutely shown,
As the clear prospect on the mirror thrown;
While truth of character exactly hit,
And drest in all the dyes of comic wit;
While these in *Fielding's* page delight supply,
So long thy pencil with his pen shall vie.
Hayley on Painting.

But of all pictures none are so interesting in the display of figures, none so powerful in effect, as the *historical*, since they represent a momentary drama. This branch of the art maintains the same superiority over all others, which tragedy has acquired over epigrams, pastorals, and satires. The effect of such pictures depends upon propriety of expression, and dignity of subject; but the tie which unites the different characters to each other, and produces a perfect whole, is the connexion of the subordinate figures with the principal one. There is great elegance of figures, and brilliancy of colouring, in the Pembroke Family, by Vandyke, at Wilton; but the picture is very deficient in the excellence of which we are speaking. Each individual of the group forms a distinct portrait, and is no otherwise connected with the rest than as they are all painted upon the same canvass. Such a defect in a point so essential to historical painting, may remind us of the assemblage of unconnected stories, which compose the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto, and the Fairy Queen of Spenser.

This beauty of composition is displayed in many celebrated pictures, such as the Tent of Darius by Le Brun, St. Paul preaching before Felix, by Raphael, the Presentation in the Temple, and the taking down of Christ from the cross by Rubens; and the last Supper by Poussin*.

* The characters of Michael Angelo, Raphael, Poussin, Rubens, and Vandyke are finely touched by Hayley in the following passage:

Inflamed by genius with sublimest rage,
By toil unwearied, and unchilled by age,
In the fine frenzy of exalted thought,
Gigantic *Angelo* his wonders wrought;
And high by native strength of spirit rais'd,
The mighty Homer of the pencil blaz'd.
Taste, fancy, judgment, all on *Raphael* smiled;
Of grandeur and of grace the darling child:
Truth, passion, character, his constant aim,
Both in the human, and the heavenly frame;

The death of general Wolfe, and the Resurrection of Lazarus by West, possess similar merit.

But of this unity of design no happier instance can perhaps be adduced than the Cartoon of Raphael, representing the death of Ananias. At the first glance we become interested in the awful scene. The place is a spacious hall. The apoplectic figure prostrate on the ground, is evidently Ananias, the victim of supernatural power. The sublime and majestic St. Peter stands on a raised platform, with his arm extended in a threatening manner, as if he had just pronounced his doom. The terror occasioned by the sudden stroke is expressed by the features of youth and middle age on each side the sufferer. Sapphira the accomplice and the wife of Ananias, is just approaching the fatal centre. In this composition of near thirty figures none can be pointed out as a figure of common place or mere convenience; they are linked to each other, and to the centre, by one chain. All have room to act their proper parts with reference to the main incident, and like the rays of a circle, all conduct the eye to the central point*.

The admirers of painting in this country enjoy very favourable opportunities of surveying fine specimens of their favourite art. Pictures of inestimable value have of late been brought from abroad, and our collections bid fair to rival most of the celebrated cabinets upon the continent. Since the French revolution London has become more than ever a repository of the choicest productions of the pencil.

> Th' enchanting painter rules the willing heart,
> And shines, the finished Virgil of his art.
> The sage *Poussin*, with purest fancy fraught,
> Portrayed the classic scene, as learning taught.
> Proud of the praise by *Rubens'* pencil won,
> Let Flanders boast her bold inventive son!
> Whose glowing hues magnificently shine,
> With warmth congenial to his rich design:
> And him her second pride, whose milder care
> From lively beauty caught its loveliest air,
> Who truth of character with grace combined,
> And in the speaking feature marked the mind,
> Her soft *Vandyke*, while graceful portraits please,
> Shall reign the model of unrivalled ease.

Hayley on Painting, p. 15, 20, 22. See his excellent Notes, and Reynolds's Discourses.

* I am indebted for this example to Mr. Fuseli's Lectures, which are replete with "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn." Such is his learning, profound insight into the heart, and refined taste, that every reader must be highly gratified by *studying* them;—for a superficial perusal cannot do them justice.

A great improvement may consequently be expected in the general taste, as an amateur has it in his power to contemplate such numerous works of the masters before mentioned, in addition to the delightful productions which display the boldness and grandeur of Michael Angelo, the wild fancy of Salvator Rosa, the brilliant colouring of Titian, the graceful forms of Guido, the chaste manner of Correggio, the elaborate accuracy and rich tints of Rembrandt, the classic elegance of Poussin, and the spirited expression of Lodovico Carracci.

They who take a pleasure to inspect collections of paintings should endeavour to be accurate in their observations upon the works of celebrated masters, and try to discover the cause of the pleasing effects produced on their minds. A refined taste raised above the unmeaning gaze of admiration, can only be formed by studiously examining the whole of a composition, by exploring the truth, elegance and grandeur of the design, the grace of the figures, the resemblance to nature in the colouring, and the magic touch of the pencil which gives warmth and spirit to every part.

One principal requisite on which to found an accurate judgment in painting, is to be conversant with sacred and profane history; particularly the former, as many subjects of the finest pictures are taken from the bible. Another requisite is to study nature, so as to have fixed in the memory exact and beautiful images of every object that can enter into a composition, and to accustom the eye not only to what is graceful and elegant in the human form, but what is striking and natural in trees, rocks, and rivers, as well as the different appearances of light and shadow which agreeably diversify the face of nature. By examining the peculiarity of colouring, we may in many instances discover what constitutes the manner of the great masters. Every one is remarkable for some predominant tint. Black prevails in the pictures of Carlo Dolce, Caravaggio, Spagnoletto, Manfredi, and Valentino; in some a paleness, as in Vouet and Niccolo Poussin; the purple in the Bassans, and in Teniers the grey. There are other characteristic circumstances; Correggio and Titian are known by the beauty of their carnations, Rubens is remarkable for the grandeur of his figures, and Vandyke for the delicacy of his flesh colour, and the beauty of his hands and arms. Holbein painted his larger portraits upon a green, and his smaller upon a blue ground. There are many other pecu-

liarities which an observer, attentive to the beauties of this delightful art, cannot fail to notice.

Portrait painting may be justly regarded as a very pleasing branch of the art, particularly as it is carried to a considerable degree of excellence by the most admired artists of the present times. It may indeed be employed to raise many monuments to vanity and ostentation, but it likewise pays such respect to affection, to friendship, and to gratitude, as cannot fail to excite the most pleasing emotions of sensibility. By the aid of the pencil is preserved the resemblance of the parent we revere, the child we love, and the hero we honour. Although separated from the objects of our regard by extensive provinces and vast oceans, their lively portraits place us still in their company, and even though they are cut off by death, and are mouldering in the tomb, their beloved forms still retain the semblance of animation, they still bloom in the expressive colours of the ingenious artist, and their features excite the recollection of their dispositions, manners, and characters.

While, therefore, it is our wish to inculcate the principles of true taste by recommending an attention to the works of the old masters; it is by no means intended to depreciate the works, or discourage the exertions of the painters of our own age and country. It may indeed be apprehended, that as they confine themselves so much to portrait painting, and are so much engaged in copying individual nature, and the subjects taken from common life, they cannot reach the highest degree of their profession, and excel in historical painting. But it ought to be considered, that as they are obliged to follow the current of the fashion, they have rarely an opportunity of putting their abilities to a full and fair trial. For what they *can* effect we may appeal to several excellent pictures which adorn Windsor palace, the Shakspeare, the Milton, and the Macklin galleries, as well as several private collections. If there be instances in which they have failed in their efforts to embody with adequate force and spirit, the conceptions of a Shakspeare and a Milton, we must consider how impossible it is to express by colours the efforts of the imagination, and to bring into one point of time the successive particulars of description. A failure in this respect is rather the defect of the art, than of the artist.

Instead of lavishing immense sums upon the continent in the purchase of more pictures by the old masters, would it not be more honourable to the national character, to foster

genius of our own painters, and give a new incitement to their exertions. These purposes might be effected, if the noble and the opulent would follow the example of the illustrious founder of the royal academy, and patronize eminent artists. The field for their exertions is extensive and fruitful, and they possess one decided advantage over the great masters; as they are not confined by the superstitious fashion of the age to one particular description of subjects. Subjects indeed are so far from being wanted, that it is rather a difficult task to select, than to discover them. The choice might rest with the artists themselves, who are the best judges of their own powers of execution. The history of our own country considered not merely with a view to war, but the arts of peace presents a wide range of topics. Let the public patronise the execution of a series of pictures to form a national gallery, let each eminent painter be well remunerated for the picture he undertakes, and a fair experiment might be made to convince the world whether British genius, fostered by British liberality, was not capable of producing such works of art, as would confer distinguished honour upon our age and country.

III. POETRY.

As eloquence differs from common narrative, by the use of figurative and metaphorical expressions, and a greater conspicuousness of style; so poetry is distinguished from oratory by words and expressions still more vivid and more ardent.* And what more strongly marks the line of separation between poetry and eloquence, is the ornament of verse. This gives to it a specific character, and adorns it with peculiar graces; and it is this, which, by the harmony and variety of numbers adapted to every subject, affords so much delight to the ear. To the different kinds of poetry custom has assigned various kinds of metre; to the epic is appropriated heroic, and to the ode unequal verse; and this custom is so firmly established, that any violation of it would offend the public taste, and raise such strong prejudices against a writer, as an exalted genius only could over-

*The characteristic distinctions of poetry, eloquence, and history, are touched with his usual spirit, judgment, and taste, by Quintilian, lib. x, c. 1, sect. 3. lib. xii, c. 10, sect. 4. Reynolds's Discourses.

come. The Fairy Queen of Spenser maintains its ground among the first poems in our language, although written in the Italian stanza: but who ever reads the heroic poem of Gondibert, written by Davenant in elegiac verse?

Assisted by the observations which we have made in different parts of this work, upon the poets of various countries both ancient and modern, sacred and profane, we may form some notions, and it is hoped such as are not inaccurate, of their respective merits. The more we examine into the nature of genuine poetry, the more traces we shall find in its productions of that transcendent genius, which we have endeavoured to delineate, and which reigns supreme in all the provinces of poetry, painting and music. To ascertain poetry by its effects may come within the sphere of the critic, and the man of taste: but to describe its extensive powers, and its potent influence and to mark its raptures and flights, "in thoughts that breathe, and words that burn:" when soaring on eagle wings "it ascends the highest heaven of invention," belongs exclusively to the poet himself. Let then the votary of the muses develope the mysteries of his charming art, and speak for himself: and let me, to supply my imperfect description, refer my readers to Horace, when he addresses Melpomene in the most exquisite of his lyric strains;—to Gray, describing the progress of poetry;—or rather let me call for the assistance of Shakspeare.

"The poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And as imagination bodies forth
The form of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shape, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

Of the nature and effects of the art, the sweet and original strains of the *Minstrel* may give no imperfect idea:

"But hail ye mighty masters of the lay,
Nature's true sons, the friends of man and truth!
Whose song, sublimely sweet, serenely gay,
Amus'd my childhood, and informed my youth.
O let your spirit still my bosom sooth;
Inspire my dreams, and my wild wanderings guide:
Your voice each rugged path of life can smooth;
For well I know, wherever ye reside,
There harmony, and peace, and innocence abide."
Beattie's Minstrel, xlii.

It is by such exertions as we admire in the choicest productions of ancient and modern times, that a poet communicates to his reader his own enthusiastic feelings, and opens those avenues of pleasure, which lead immediately to the imagination, and the heart. Such an extensive influence as he, and indeed every good writer, obtains over the mind, shows that literature justly claims to itself, among human inventions, a place much higher than the other imitative arts. The charms of music are vague and indefinite in their expression of emotions and passions, and short in their continuance. Painting is confined to objects of sight, and to a single point of time; but eloquence and poetry, to the advantages of them both, add many others, which are peculiarly their own. They admit a succession, a variety, and an accuracy of ideas, and strengthen first impressions by a detail of striking particulars. They include a series of successive facts, which comprehend a whole subject from beginning to end. They rank higher in the scale of imitative excellence, in proportion to the exertion of mind employed in their productions, and the superior pleasure they convey. All the conceptions which the soul is able to form, all the beauties of nature and emotions of passion, all the range of sensible and abstract ideas, come within their reach; so that the field which they open to taste is the most extensive, fruitful and agreeable, in which we can possibly expatiate.

And here, as the principles of taste can only be founded with justness and solidity upon a knowledge of the GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS, we may fairly inquire more particularly into the nature of the pretensions to the high rank, which they have for ages held among literary productions. Is their value overrated, and do they owe their reputation solely to the venerable garb which antiquity has thrown around them? The classical scholar needs not be apprehensive lest his favourite authors should suffer by a fair answer to this question: for we can reply with the confidence of truth, that the estimation in which they are held is founded upon the most solid grounds. We view more particularly in Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Æschylus, Sophocles, Virgil, Cicero, Livy, and Horace, that ardour of genius, that air of originality, that insight into the nature of man, and knowledge of the passions, that simplicity, and inimitable beauty both of thought and expression, which have deservedly obtained them the most conspicuous places in the temple of fame. They have enlarged the boundaries of the human mind, and exhibit the fairest and most gen-

eral ideas of nature in the brightest forms, and most elegant and energetic language. They have reared the standard of intellectual strength, to which all succeeding writers have repaired. They have raised their fame upon a foundation too solid to be shaken by caprice, or fastidiousness of opinion; for it is supported by the general taste of the best informed part of mankind. They have pleased because they have copied nature in her most beautiful form, and represented her in the most graceful and engaging attitudes. And they are justly intitled to attention, veneration, and gratitude, for the knowledge which they have conveyed to the understanding, the images with which they have brightened the fancy, and the sentiments with which they have softened and refined the heart. It is not therefore the affectation of pedantry, or an implicit obedience to prescription, which leads us to commend them; but their own intrinsic and incomparable beauties draw forth the spontaneous sacrifice of justice, which we are eager to offer at the shrine of genius. The continuation and the stability of their fame depend, not upon fashion, but upon the warm and sincere approbation of every sensible and well informed mind. From this conviction, the classical reader may venture to predict, that as long as true taste flourishes, they will ever be studied and admired; and when once they are ridiculed and thrown aside, such neglect will be a melancholy proof of the degeneracy of mankind, and will prove a sure indication of the approach of those dark ages, in which they fall a prey to ignorance and barbarism.

The pleasures enjoyed by the man of taste delight the mind, without exhausting the spirits. In his most improved state he is neither undistinguished nor fastidious,—neither too easy nor too difficult to be pleased. He views all objects with a disposition suitable to their nature, and is sometimes softened by the pathetic, sometimes enraptured with the beautiful, and sometimes elevated by the sublime, and feels a noble dignity of soul resulting from the consciousness and enjoyment of their attractions. For his gratification are displayed the various works of nature and art—the charms of poetry, the graces of painting, and the melodious strains of music. Correctness and elegance are the objects of his search; and he looks with peculiar pleasure upon those specimens of art, which are general without indistinctness, and accurate without tameness or servility. He remarks many minute beauties, where a common observer sees none; and his acuteness of perception prevents

him from being deluded by false and specious ornaments.* Disliking equally to express himself in the language of high panegyric, or illiberal censure, he utters upon all occasions, when his sentiments are called for, the dictates of candour with the warmth of enthusiasm. He excuses many faults for the sake of the beauties, to which they are allied; for he looks upon genius, as he does upon virtue, as exhibited in the imperfect characters of mankind; and being struck with its approaches to that perfection, which is unattainable, makes allowance for the failings of human nature.† He compares the beauties of one kind with those of another; and refers every work to that standard of excellence, which the productions of the greatest masters have enabled him to erect.

But while he aims at this refined character, he endeavours to divest himself of prejudice, and takes the most enlarged and comprehensive view of every subject. He endeavours to place himself in the exact situation of the person, whose productions he contemplates; makes due allowance for the peculiar habits of life, and prejudices of education, both of the artist and his countrymen; and at the same time imposes a due restraint on his own feelings; for he represses the envy of a rival, the petulance of a sciolist, the partiality of a friend, and the acrimony of an enemy. The man of taste is a genuine philanthropist, and a citizen of the world at large. If he is influenced by any bias, it is always in favour of genius; and the severity of his judgment is allayed by candour and good nature.

He, whose mind is thus gifted by nature, and refined by education, has one faculty of enjoyment more than the illiterate and the vulgar, and may be said to possess an additional sense. When he views the prospects of nature, he feels a satisfaction far more delicate and more pleasing than that which is experienced by the tasteless owner of the

* "It is true, that other men may see as well as a painter, but not with such eyes: a man is taught to *see*, as well as to dance; and the beauties of nature open themselves to our sight by little and little, after a long practice in the art of seeing. A judicious well-instructed eye sees a wonderful beauty in the shapes and colours of the commonest things, and what are comparatively inconsiderable." Richardson, p. 91. Webb on Painting, p. 12. "Quam multa vident pictores in umbris, et in eminentia, quæ nos non videmus? quam multa quæ nos fugiunt in cantu, exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati? Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. ii.

† "Si necesse est in alterutram errare partem, omnia eorum legentibus placere, quam multa displicere maluerim. Quint. lib. x, cap. 1. See Addison on the Pleasures of the Imagination.

largest estate. He is persuaded that riches are only valuable either as ministering to the wants of the necessitous, or as bestowed upon the external decorations of life, which indeed are childish and frivolous, if they do not display elegance of mind. The cabinets, galleries, palaces, and parks of others administer to his pleasure; and he finds an agreeable companion in every picture, medal, and statue. By the pursuits of Taste, the attention is drawn off from sensual indulgence and low amusements. They promote tranquillity of temper, and thus become the allies of virtue, and the friends of the social affections. They form the middle link in the chain of pleasures, as they exceed those which are merely corporeal, and lead to such as are speculative and abstract. They give an elegant turn and cast of sentiment; they divert the attention from the turbulence of passion, and the sordidness of interest, and dispose it for tranquillity and reflection. They fill the mind with beautiful images, furnish agreeable subjects of conversation, and, as they are connected with a knowledge of mankind, and the operations of human intellect, they contribute to prepare us for the business of life, and the intercourse of society.

An intimate acquaintance with the works of genius, nature, and art, as displayed in their most sublime and beautiful forms, has an immediate tendency to expand the faculties of the mind, and to give the most engaging views of mankind and of Providence. By the cultivation of Taste upon such principles, the connexion between the feelings of natural and moral beauty is discovered, and the pleasures derived from the eye and the ear terminate in the enlargement of the heart, and the improvement of the social affections; and thus is the cultivation of Taste carried to its most exalted height. Hence, as from being conversant with the works of the best masters, the man of taste dislikes whatever is unnatural, affected, and vulgar, and is gratified only with what is beautiful and fair; so he will be disposed, by a congeniality of sentiment, to reject whatever is depraved and vicious, and to adhere to that which is noble and honourable. The sensibility of the excellence of art and nature is favourable to the enjoyment of *moral* beauty; for if the mind has been duly improved by education, and is not corrupted by intercourse with the world, the heart may be softened, the manners refined, and the temper sweetened by a well directed attention to the arts of imitation. The improvement of Taste, therefore, will, if thus pursued, answer the most valuable of all purposes, and not only form a re-

fined critic and connoisseur, but give to magnanimity, generosity, and every amiable quality, their proper ascendency above meanness, depravity, and selfishness. It will not only impart much of that refinement and elegance of thinking, which characterised an ADDISON, a SPENCE, a GRAY, a REYNOLDS; but contribute to the love and the improvement of those virtues, which were the fairest ornaments of their minds.

CLASS THE SIXTH.

THE SOURCES OF OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

IN recommending agriculture and commerce, as proper subjects of attention in a general scheme of liberal education, I am not only justified by the importance of the subjects themselves, but by the institutions of respectable seminaries, and the opinions of writers of high character. The art of agriculture has been for several years publicly taught in the Swedish, Danish, and some of the German universities; and I am informed that a professorship for this purpose has been founded at Edinburgh. In addition to the advice of Milton and Locke, I have moreover the concurrence of Bishop Watson. His remarks upon the best mode of improving academical education, are so much to the purpose, that my readers, I doubt not, will be pleased with the following remarks.

"I have spent the best part of my life in the university of Cambridge; and have not been wholly incurious in observing what, I thought, were either excellencies or defects in our mode of education. I mean not, upon this occasion, to enlarge upon either, but simply to take the liberty of suggesting an hint, which has often engaged my attention. The hint respects—the utility of an academic institution for instructing young men of rank and fortune in the elements of agriculture; in the principles of commerce; and in the knowledge of our manufactures.

"This kind of study would agreeably solicit, and might probably secure, the attention of that part of our youth, which, in being exempted from the discipline of scholastic exercises, has abundant leisure for other pursuits; which, in being born to opulence, is (I will say) unhappily deprived of one of the strongest incentives to intellectual exertion—narrowness of fortune; it would prepare them for becoming at a proper age, intelligent legislators of their country; and it would inspire them with such a taste for husbandry as might constitute the chief felicity of their future lives.

"When the treaty with Ireland was agitated in parliament, the utility of a comprehensive knowledge of our commerce and manufactures was perfectly understood both by those who possessed it, and by those who lamented their want of it. The commerce of wool, corn, cotton, hemp, flax, silk, beer, wine, spirits, salts, sugar, tar, glass, earthen ware, iron, copper, lead, tin, &c. &c. are subjects of great importance to this country; and it is humbly apprehended, that they are subjects also on which there are but few persons in either house of parliament, who have had an opportunity of being instructed during the course of their education.

"Of all the amusements or employments in which country gentlemen are engaged, that of superintending with intelligence the cultivation of a farm is one of the most useful to the community, as well as to the individual who applies himself to it. Great improvements have been made in agriculture within the last fifty years; there is a chaos of printed information on the subject, which wants to be digested into form, in order to be made generally useful. The several agricultural societies which have been established by gentlemen in different parts of the kingdom, have done great service; we owe to their endeavours, and to the patriotic exertions of one deserving citizen, (A. Young,) the present flourishing condition of our husbandry; but far more gentlemen would probably have been induced to turn their thoughts that way, and all of them with better prospects of succeeding in their inquiries, had they, in their youth, been carefully instructed in the principles of vegetation, in the chemical qualities of soils, and in the natures and uses of different manures."

AGRICULTURE.

The pursuits of agriculture are connected with that love of the country, which may be called an universal passion. The charms of nature are there fully displayed; and every

mind, which is not debased by vicious refinement, or enslaved by irregular desires, is eager to enjoy them. A principle so universally felt has never failed to call forth the powers of genius; and writers of all ages have expatiated on rural scenes and occupations with the most lively satisfaction. Every poet more especially claims the country as his peculiar province; from it he derives the most beautiful and striking descriptions, and is enabled to represent those various prospects of nature, which are so highly gratifying to every ingenuous mind.

But rural scenes and occupations, considered as conducive to the support and comforts of life, become far more important and useful objects of speculation, than merely as they please the eye by their beauty, or charm the fancy by the images with which they enrich it. They lead to enquiries, which are worthy of the particular attention of every lover of his native country; inasmuch as they present a view of the powers of art combined with those of nature to improve the soil, to the greatest degree of fertility; and thus minister to the subsistence, the increase and the happiness of mankind.

Agriculture may properly be considered with respect to the eminent writers upon the subject, and the *countries* where it has chiefly flourished—its *superiority to commerce* as a source of permanent abundance and power—*the improvements* made since it has occupied the attention of English gentlemen—*the condition* of the husbandmen—*its comparative state* in France, Ireland, America, and England—and *the best methods* for its farther advancement in our island.

Agriculture is the art of causing the earth to produce the various kinds of vegetables in the greatest perfection and plenty. It is not only essential to the well being of society, in a rude and unpolished state; but is equally requisite in every stage of its refinement. As an incitement to its constant and uniform pursuit, it repays the exertions of mankind with regular and abundant returns. From the remotest ages it has been esteemed worthy of general attention. The simplicity of ancient manners rendered it an object not inconsistent with the rank and situation of persons of the greatest eminence. Gideon, the renowned champion and judge of Israel, quitted the threshing-floor to preside in the public assembly of his countrymen: and Cincinnatus, the conqueror of the Volsci, left his plough to lead the Roman armies to battle; afterwards declined the rewards gained by his vic-

tories, to return to his native fields. In modern times this occupation has been held in no less esteem. There are not wanting those among our nobility, who take a lively interest in all rural improvements, and preside at the annual meetings of Agriculturists, with no less reputation to themselves, than benefit to the art. Washington, the late celebrated president of the United States of America, found the most pleasing relaxation of public care in the superintendence of his own estate. The emperor of China, at the beginning of every spring, goes to plough in person, attended by the princes and grandees of his empire; he celebrates the close of the harvest among his subjects, and creates the best farmer in his dominions a Mandarin.

1. An art like this, which from its obvious utility must necessarily claim not only the patronage of the great, but the general attention of mankind, in proportion as they are civilized, has been not less distinguished as a subject to exercise the talents of eminent authors. In various ages many have written to explain its principles, and celebrate its excellence. Some have adorned it with the elegance of fancy, and others have methodized it with the precision of rules. Hesiod was one of the earliest of the Grecian poets to sing the praises of the plough, and in a work nearly coeval with the Iliad itself, has combined with the principles of the art many curious observations on the seasons most propitious to its various employments. At a period of society, when its advantages were better understood, and its practice more generally diffused, Xenophon expatiated in his Economics, on the importance of Agriculture, and described its influence on the prosperity of the arts, and the advancement of civilization. Cicero was so much pleased with the sweet simplicity and beneficial tendency of this treatise, that he translated it into Latin: and in his admirable Dialogue on Old Age, Cato, the principal speaker, recommends it to the great Scipio, as the most powerful inducement to persevere in his favourite pursuit. Virgil has ennobled the subject with the dignity of Latin verse; and in his Georgics, the most correct and most original of his works, has described at large the rural occupations of his countrymen, the cultivation of land, the seasons most favourable to tillage, and the nature of grazing and planting. He has adorned every branch of his subject with refined and striking beauties of composition; and has so fully collected the best observations and choicest maxims of antiquity as to render it almost a superfluous task to consult the works of other authors rela-

tive to the progress, which his predecessors had made in this subject.*

At the revival of learning in England, Fitzherbert published a very useful work on the nature of soils, and the laws of vegetation. Hartlib, the correspondent of Milton, distinguished himself so much by his proposals for rural improvements, as to attract the notice of Cromwell, who rewarded his publication with a liberal pension. In the preface to the excellent work intitled *his Legacy*, he laments that no public director of husbandry was established in England, by the authority of government; and that the English had not adopted the Flemish method of letting farms upon improvement. Evelyn, the author of the pleasing work on Forest Trees, afterwards endeavoured to inspire his countrymen with a love of agriculture; and he was followed by the ingenious Jethro Tull. The former by his excellent treatises, on soils and planting, and the latter by showing the superior advantages of the drill husbandry, excited numbers to reduce their plans to practice.

The various societies, particularly those established in England, Ireland, France, Italy and Germany, have since contributed to suggest and disseminate a variety of improvements. To three writers, who have lately favoured the world with their publications, our country is much indebted. *Marshall* has, by his close attention to the particular occupations of the country, proceeded to many valuable conclusions, highly useful to the farmer: and *Anderson* has shown great accuracy of observation in his remarks on particular soils and plants, and in his proposal of trying experiments upon an extensive scale. *Young* has far surpassed his predecessors in the compass and variety of his researches, as he has reduced the directions of others to practice, suggested many plans of improvement in every branch of farming, and added much to the general stock of knowledge, by actual observations on foreign countries, as well as on the different counties in the united kingdom.

Much to the honour of this art, we find that all the nations of old, which were celebrated for their progress in it, were free and independent. In the most glorious times of Greece, and in the most virtuous period of the Roman republic, agriculture flourished, and was held in great estimation. The face of nature has felt the bad effects, which have arisen from the degeneracy of this heroic people; for ever

* It is pleasing to observe how far we are advanced beyond the Romans in agriculture and domestic economy.

since idleness, despotism, and superstition have spread their pernicious influence over Italy, the rural arts have declined, and the fertile fields of the Campagna de Roma, which once supplied vast multitudes with employment and sustenance, are now changed into barren heaths, and pestilential marshes. It was under a mild government the inhabitants of the Netherlands carried the cultivation of the soil to a degree of perfection, which was long unattained by any of the other states of Europe. From them our island has received the most useful instruction; and such has been the activity and persevering spirit of the English as in many respects to surpass the ingenious and industrious people to whom they are indebted for these advantages.

Agriculture has been gradually improving since the errors of ancient husbandry have been corrected, and vulgar superstitious traditions exploded. A solid and rational system of the art has been founded upon clear and intelligible principles. The application of natural history and chemistry to it has greatly accelerated our improvements, in proportion as inquiries have been made into the causes of the fertility and barrenness of land; the food and nutriment of vegetables, the nature of soils, the best modes of meliorating them with various manures; and, more than all, by the introduction of foreign seeds, and adopting from the nations whence they were borrowed their methods of cultivation. The connexion between causes and effects is now better understood; and a degree of ability, management, and skill, far superior to the practice of former times, is exercised in the various departments of Agriculture. In the process of husbandry, as it has been conducted for some time in Great Britain, little is left to the precariousness of chance; and the bigotted regard to ancient customs gives place to the dictates of good sense, and more correct views of utility. The intelligent farmer, profiting by the wider diffusion of knowledge, which is the characteristic of the present age, derives more assistance from the philosopher, the naturalist, and the chemist, than his ancestors could obtain; and is furnished with the useful principles of every art in the least degree conducive to the improvement and success of his occupations. As this knowledge has been applied to practice, successive improvements have been made, and extended from one province to another; until the country has assumed a new aspect, and the general appearance of our island, which two centuries ago abounded in barren wastes, interspersed with gloomy forests, now exhibits in successive scenes, long ranges

of fields waving with every kind of vegetable production, and rich and verdant pastures filled with thriving flocks and herds.

2. The most obvious advantage of agriculture is, that it supplies mankind with the greatest quantity of provision. Savage tribes subsist by hunting wild animals in large forests; and thus a few people, comparatively speaking, gain from an extensive tract of waste land a precarious and scanty support. The next step in the progress of society is to breed and rear flocks and herds of tame animals, which is the state of a people just emerging from barbarism, as was the case of the Greeks in the times described by Homer. This progress of society to the condition of shepherds is a more certain and permanent mode of procuring subsistence, and has greatly the advantage over the hunting state. Another step places mankind in a situation, which gives them the full benefit of their industry and ingenuity, at the same time that it more abundantly ministers to their wants. This last and greatest improvement consists in tillage, which entirely changes the quality of food, and increases the quantity in a vast proportion.

It is obvious therefore to conclude, that no other method of procuring the means of subsistence can be so well adapted to an increase of population. This is a point of the greatest political importance; for provided a people be industrious and well employed, they cannot increase with too much rapidity. Monarchs may vainly imagine that their glory consists in extent of territory, the pomp of state, the greatness of their revenues, or the terror of their arms: but an accurate knowledge of mankind will convince them, that true glory can only arise from ruling a people, who, free from the weight of oppression, and reaping the fruits of their industry, are induced to multiply their species from a desire of communicating to their descendants the blessings of security and comfort, which themselves enjoy. Under such circumstances a great population is the safeguard of the country, as well as the glory of the king. Every encouragement which can be given to it is strictly conformable to the constitution of nature, as she seems to have provided for an indefinite increase of mankind. And as the fruitfulness of the earth is likewise indefinite, there seems to be no natural obstacle to their united advancement and progression, far beyond the point they have at present reached in Great Britain, and most other parts of the world.

Commerce is of a precarious and fluctuating nature; particularly as it takes its rise from artificial as well as natural wants. Merchants remove from place to place according to the comparative cheapness of labour, and their prospects of improving their capitals. Grass now grows in those streets of Antwerp and Ghent, which three centuries ago were thronged with merchants from all parts of Europe. The manufactures of wool, at present the boast of English trade, after the fall of the western empire, were wrought in Venice, Pisa, Florence, and Lucca: thence they were transferred to the Netherlands; and adopted about two hundred years ago by our ancestors. Some branches of this trade have lately migrated from Norwich into Prussia and Germany. The cotton mills of Manchester and the northern counties have been equalled, if not exceeded, within these few years, by those of Scotland. But where agriculture is made the great object of pursuit, the inhabitants of a country are not exposed to such vicissitudes; their employments are less transient; and they are not under the necessity of having recourse to other places for the supply of their immediate wants. They are not exposed to the extortion or the hostility of their neighbours, who have it not in their power to impoverish them by selling corn at an exorbitant price, or reduce them to famine by withholding it. Priestley on History, p. 365. Many of the states of America, which are almost entirely occupied by farmers, are independent of all the rest of the world. Maritime and commercial nations may indeed enjoy all the fruits of other countries; but as the land which produces those fruits is the sole property of the owners of the soil, they can impart or withhold them at pleasure. Agriculture therefore constitutes the only firm and permanent basis of subsistence.

But although agriculture justly claims the ascendency over commerce; yet it is a truth founded upon experience, that the only method to encourage agriculture is to excite other kinds of industry, and afford a ready market for the exchange of corn for other commodities. If the inhabitants of a country have no motive for raising more grain than is barely sufficient for their own consumption, they will not always raise even a necessary quantity; and a bad seed-time, or an unfavourable harvest, will be followed by a famine. This was frequently the case before the bounty was granted by parliament upon the exportation of corn in the year 1689.

3. The business of agriculture was for a long time confined to those, who, from their contracted sphere of life, were exposed to the imputation of ignorance and narrowness of mind. The improving spirit of the times, added to considerations of self-interest, has given new dignity to the occupation. Gentlemen of independent fortune and liberal education for some time past have attended to rural occupations, so that its various branches are conducted immediately under their own inspection and management. Placing no longer an implicit confidence in their servants, they are become the superintendants of their own farms, and take a pleasure in introducing every improvement and every new machine for the purpose of accelerating and abridging labour. The public spirit of some, and the curiosity of others, induce them to vie with their neighbours; and this emulation is greatly increased by the annual competitions, which take place in several counties. The encouragement given to the mechanic arts, and the different treatment of soils, seeds, and plants, are likely to be of the greatest public utility. From this attention of country gentlemen to farming more experiments have been tried, to which the finances of the less opulent farmer are not adequate; more discoveries made, and more systematic and useful plans adopted within the last thirty years, than were practised for a century before.

In different counties a great variety is observable in the conduct of farmers, in their courses of crops, their custom of fallowing, and of abridging labour by mechanical improvements. Every year produces some favourite schemes, which have been practised with success upon some particular spots of ground under peculiar circumstances. These schemes it may be imprudent to reject altogether, although repeated trials may be necessary to induce the cautious to adopt them. He who speculates with a view to forming general principles, must not stop to consider local peculiarities, or partial experiments; but ought to consider husbandry in its great outlines, and then descend regularly to the detail of circumstances. He surveys the richest and best cultivated counties, and remarks in what proportion the lands are every year productive either of corn or some other vegetables, preparatory to its cultivation. He inquires for what reason sheep and cattle are spread over the face of a fertile country in such great numbers; whether manure does not depend upon them, and corn upon manure. If the answer to such questions be satisfactory, then the far-

mers are entitled to his praise: and their practice is a tacit censure of the ignorance, prejudices, idleness, and want of spirit in the inhabitants of other places, where fallowing abounds, where manure is purchased in small quantities, where sheep are few and in bad condition; and a good soil is so far exhausted as to produce no other crop than scanty ears of rye or barley, amidst a luxurious produce of all kinds of weeds.

It is not easy to determine whether the *old* or the *new* husbandry be preferable in every country: with regard to this point, the climate, the situation of particular land, the soil, the skill and dexterity in the management of the implements, and new machines, in addition to the comparative expence in raising crops must be accurately attended to, before a decision can in all cases be made.

Drill-husbandry has been well described as "the practice of a garden introduced into the field." Every person of the least reflection must be sensible that the former is far preferable to the latter, only that it is a little more expensive. But if this expence be generally far more than repaid by the superior goodness and value of drilled crops, it ought to have no weight in comparing the two methods of husbandry.

Nature has an immediate tendency to the multiplication of the human species, and her influence is more particularly visible in the country, where pure air, plain diet, and the regularity of rural employments conduce to this great end. The country is the prolific seminary of cities. Accordingly we find that emigration advances from the former to the latter. Villages are the nurseries of mankind, and their inhabitants can alone make up for the vast and rapid consumption of the human species, caused by the luxury, celibacy, prostitution, and impure atmosphere of large towns, and particularly of the metropolis. In addition to the checks which population receives from great cities, may be enumerated the inequality of the ranks and fortunes of men, which in some countries may for ever prevent an increase of inhabitants from being considerable, provided the upper ranks have it in their power to prevent the combinations of the lower, and to keep property in the same state. The depopulation of Italy in the later times of the Roman empire, was occasioned by the great inequality of ranks, the prevalence of luxury, the number of country-seats, and arable land being converted into unproductive pleasure grounds.

Excessive population, if unattended by adequate means

of support, so far from proving a blessing to a country, is calculated to produce the most deplorable scenes of wretchedness. The unhappy extremity to which a people are reduced by its excess is evident among the Chinese, where the inhuman custom of exposing children prevails, in consequence of the difficulty of supplying them with food; and every species of vermin is sought to sustain the existence of wretches perishing with hunger. In France, a few years past, the price of labour was so low, as scarcely to save a workman from starving; and that business was performed badly by three men, for which in England one is found sufficient. France, before the revolution, exhibited to the eye of the traveller all the misery and inactivity of the half starved and idle people. From such instances it is evident that a nation possesses its proper number of inhabitants when they are commensurate with the quantity of food, which it either produces, or can constantly purchase with its manufactures from its neighbours; and when it is not liable to be exposed to famine by the failure of a harvest, as has sometimes been the case in France. The difficulty of procuring subsistence therefore constitutes a check to population, and operates as a great obstacle to marriage; which will seldom fail to take place, when there is a reasonable prospect of provision for a family.

4. The *Peasant*, although he may be disregarded by the superficial, or viewed with contempt by the vain, will be placed by those who judge of things, not by their external appearance, but their intrinsic worth, in the most useful class of mankind. His occupation is conducive not only to the prosperity, but to the existence of society. He prepares the ground, scatters the seed, and reaps the harvest of those vegetable productions, which form the principal support of human life. For this end he braves the rigour of the winter, endures the heat of summer, and patiently supports all the vicissitudes of weather. He is placed at a distance from most of the objects which can excite his ambition, or satisfy his curiosity. His life is one unwearied course of hardy exertion, and persevering toil. The vigour of his youth is exhausted by labour; and what are the hopes and consolations of his age? Sickness may deprive him of the opportunity of providing the least supply for the closing years of life; and the gloomy confinement of a workhouse, or the scanty pittance of parochial help, is his last and only resource. By his condition may be estimated the prosperity of a nation; the real opulence, strength, and security of

the public are proportionate to the comfort which he enjoys; and his wretchedness is the sure criterion of a bad administration of government. The distance between him and the nobleman, whose soil he tills, may appear very great; but the occupations of the peasant are connected with his plenty, affluence, and magnificence, by ties, which, however they may escape common and superficial observation, are yet strong and numerous. The enjoyments of the great are procured by the sweat of his brow, and by his toils they are enabled to run the round of pleasure and dissipation. The prince or the peer, who is surrounded by a numerous retinue, and whose luxury is supplied by the produce of every quarter of the globe, will do well to recollect, that he is every day indebted to the accumulated labour of the lower classes of society, of which the poorest and the most unhappy peasant contributes his share.

And here humanity as well as justice may ask, what ought to be the recompence of so useful and valuable a member of society? He ought certainly to be rendered as comfortable as his situation of life will allow. And the circumstance of their dependence upon his exertions ought to induce his employers to contribute all in their power to alleviate his necessities, and reward his labours. That country gentleman will deserve to be celebrated like a Howard, and a Hanway, who, reducing a plan to practice, which does not benefit the lower classes of the community too much at the expence of the higher, shall give to the husbandman a stronger interest in the constitution of his country; enlarge the circle of his comforts; supply his board with more provision; clothe him more effectually against the inclemency of the seasons; and enable him to lay up a competent supply for the day of sickness, and the infirmities of age.

CHAPTER II.

THE SUBJECT CONTINUED.

OUR inquiries are carried on to consider the comparative state of agriculture, with a view to ascertain in what country it has the superiority, and to what causes that superiority may be ascribed. The field of comparison cannot

be very extensive; since it does not include very cold or very hot countries. The nature of the climate will determine its just limits, direct our attention to the degrees of latitude, which are the same, or nearly the same, as those which include the island of Great Britain.

Various advantages seem to conspire to carry the agriculture of France to a greater degree of perfection than our own. Among these advantages it is not intended to enumerate the forty societies of agriculture, which, considering the state of the art in France, at a recent period, are really contemptible*. Its soft and genial climate is highly propitious to the growth of corn. Nature has been peculiarly kind to this delightful country, in giving such prolific powers to its soil. The proportion of bad land in England to the whole kingdom is greater than in France.

Yet, destitute of these advantages, England can boast of a produce of corn far superior to that of France. The average growth of wheat and rye is twenty-four bushels upon each acre, which forms a vast superiority to eighteen, the growth of France; and the care taken in dressing the corn in England makes the difference at least twenty-five to eighteen, and perhaps rather more. The superiority of our crops of barley and oats is doubly greater than those of wheat and rye, and may justify us in fixing the proportion of the general produce of English corn at twenty-eight to eighteen. Ten millions of acres supply more corn than fifteen; consequently a territory of an hundred millions of acres more than equals another of 150 millions. Young's France, p. 341. It is from considering the effects of a superior growth upon population, commerce, and wealth, that we can easily and satisfactorily account for the power of England, which has so frequently ventured to engage in wars with a country far more extensive, populous, and more favoured by nature. It proves how much the labour and expence bestowed by man can effect to raise the prolific powers of the earth, and ought to be an incentive to the farmer in one place to adopt the management of ground, and to introduce the crops, which are found to succeed in another.

In proportion to the size of the two islands, *Ireland* is more generally cultivated than England, as it has less waste land, and more natural fertility. But the kindness of na-

* My statement is principally taken from A. Young's Travels in 1789, and from the answers obtained to my questions in the Isle of France, Picardy, and Normandy in 1791.

ture is so little seconded, that few tracts can yield less pleasure than those which the agriculturist surveys in that country. We are indeed apt to attribute much efficacy to the genial soil of England, without considering that some of the most improved spots are almost entirely indebted to the industry and art of the inhabitants for their various productions. The state of Irish agriculture admits of scarcely any comparison, as the land is in general extremely unimproved; the Irish farmer may be indebted to nature for a crop, but is under little obligation to the industry, management, or expence bestowed upon his lands by his predecessors or himself. Ireland is capable of all the high cultivation of England, and would amply repay the proprietors for the capital employed for her improvement. This important object, so conducive to her prosperity, might in time be secured, if the public spirit, or the sense of private advantage, should induce the opulent landholders to reside upon their estates, and by their own example give a sanction to agricultural improvements; and if they would relieve the tenant from the oppression and extortion of middle men and stewards, and let their lands upon the same conditions as England.

In the *United States of America* agriculture in all its branches is pursued with ardour, and is an object of general importance, as it employs a great proportion of the inhabitants. We may form an idea of the surplus produce of North America from the supplies which it can furnish, without injury to its own inhabitants, when we are alarmed by the apprehension of scarcity. And it is supposed by competent judges that the Americans are far from having acquired any great degree of skill in the management of their lands; nor have they as yet adopted those improvements, or expended those large sums upon their farms, which would tend to advance their fertility, and place them more upon an equality with the agriculturists of Britain.

On pursuing our inquiries still farther, we shall discover the principal causes which contribute to give Great Britain such manifest pre-eminence over France, Ireland, and America;—a pre-eminence which is acknowledged by all candid foreigners, and induces them to repair to this island to be spectators of our improvements, with a view to the introduction of them into their own countries.

With respect to soil and climate, our advantages are certainly not so great as those enjoyed by the French. If

however we have not their genial sunshine and warmth, which give to the grapes of Burgundy and Champagne their rich colour and delicious flavour; we are not so subject to those autumnal hurricanes and storms, which frustrate the labour of the husbandman, and destroy the harvests of whole districts at once. To these the central provinces are chiefly exposed; and no year passes without many places suffering to a degree, of which we have no conception, and on the whole to the amount of no inconsiderable proportion of the whole produce of the kingdom. Young, p. 296. If in a part of Artois, in the beautiful plains of Alsace, and upon the borders of the Garonne, their soils be richer, ours are found to be highly improveable; and it is from this power of improvement that English husbandry derives its excellence. If nature here be assiduously courted, she will return the gifts of her admirers with a liberal hand; and if diligence, skill, and liberality combine to second her efforts, she will crown their labours with success, and scatter among them the blessings of abundance.

1. The first cause to be considered is the *influence of political freedom.* Our government encourages every person to make his best exertions, in full confidence that his labours and risks will prove, not only highly beneficial to himself and his family, but will be secured to them in succeeding times. In some mechanical arts, in which the labour is short, and there is a prospect of an immediate return, the subjects of monarchical France might arrive at a great degree of eminence. They might form the beautiful china of the Seve, finish the elegant watches of Paris, or embroider the rich tapestry of the Gobelins: but in the tardy process of agriculture, those who carry them to a great extent, and have the spirit to hazard much property for a considerable time, can never be induced to embark in them without the fullest assurance of security. Our agriculture is also much indebted to the uniform management of land, however it may differ in its quality. Where the soil is rich, nature will do much for herself; but where it is coarse and poor, the English farmer is not discouraged, but, by diligence and a copious supply of manure, succeeds in raising a crop. The sands of Norfolk and the fens of Lincolnshire are made to produce turnips, oats, and barley; and they are as well cultivated as the richest land in other counties. The same principle governs districts which widely differ in

the nature of the soil; and the hand of persevering industry guides the plough, and scatters the seed in them all.

In France, wherever nature was peculiarly benign, the farmer was accustomed to give to her prolific efforts some assistance; but where she was unkind, no extraordinary labour or expence was bestowed to supply the defect. The poverty of the common people in Italy and Spain may be attributed to the richness of the land; and the genial nature of the climate. There agriculture is an easy art; the impoverished ground is left fallow; and the warmth of the sun, and the mild temperature of the air, quickly restore its exhausted fruitfulness. The poor husbandmen, who were the slaves of their landlords, gained only a scanty pittance for their toils: the luxuriant vineyards of Champagne and Burgundy, highly profitable to their owners, were cultivated by peasants, who had scarcely raiment or bread.

The comparison which has been drawn between England and France, is not intended to refer to the *present* condition of the latter, as it is not very easy, at this moment, to give an accurate and general statement of its agriculture. The consular government has taken some very useful methods to ascertain the actual state of the Republic, probably with a view to its general internal improvement; and the statistical reports very lately made by the prefects relative to twenty-six departments, appear to have been drawn up with considerable care and precision*.

2. There is no country, in which *the arrangement of crops* is better adapted to arable land, than in England. This is a circumstance which distinguishes the agricultural knowledge of the present age as much as any other improvement whatever; and it marks the line of distinction between a good and a bad farmer, and a country well or ill cultivated. So great is its importance, that all other articles in comparison are insignificant, because the general produce of the land depends so materially upon it. Of this mode of arrangement the French were totally ignorant; for some of the richest lands in the Pays de Caux, in Normandy, and the Isle of France were frequently left fallow, for the purpose of forcing scanty crops of wheat, and spring corn of a bad quality. The province of Picardy, very often

* I mention the number of those I have been able to inspect. The reports from the departments of la *Sarthe* and the *Bas Rhin* are the most circumstantial.

condemned to fallows, and manured perhaps not more than once in five or six years, produced only one tolerable harvest in three. In England, flocks of sheep are thought requisite for the produce of corn, and the crops are regulated with an immediate view to their summer and winter sustenance. It is found by general experience, that by such courses regularly pursued a tract of land will yield a harvest double to that which it would otherwise produce.

Amid these courses of crops, in which various kinds of pulse, grass, and vegetables are successfully introduced, nothing deserves more attention than the cultivation of *turnips;* and no agriculturist ever deserved better of his country, than he who first introduced them into the fields of England. No plant is better suited to the climate, flourishes more, even in the northern parts of it, or contributes more to the fertility of land. This root is the glory of the English husbandry. Its great excellence consists in nourishing and improving the soil, preparing it for the reception of wheat, and furnishing nutritious food for all sorts of cattle. Its introduction was of far more value, than the acquisition of a colony, or the establishment of a new branch of commerce. For this inestimable vegetable, and the improvements resulting from its cultivation, our island is indebted to Flanders, the fruitful parent of our commerce, agriculture, and manufactories. The first effectual trial to raise turnips in England was happily made in a county, the most proper of all others for their reception, as the soil of *Norfolk* is in general light and sandy. The place of its earliest cultivation is constantly kept in the public view, as it is found that the seed sent to distant places is apt to degenerate; so that those who wish to produce this excellent vegetable in perfection are obliged to procure fresh supplies of Norfolk seed. Slow is the progress even of obvious improvement:—its introduction into the neighbouring counties was tardy; and not more than half a century has elapsed, since it was first planted in Suffolk and Essex. Its adoption is now very general throughout Great Britain: and it may be remarked, that in proportion as turnips are cultivated, and their utility is more fully understood, the general system of husbandry becomes more advantageous and complete.

3. An additional cause of the pre-eminence of our agriculture, not less striking than the foregoing, is *the expence bestowed upon land*, as well as upon every necessary improvement. This is evident in the sums laid out for manur-

ing, irrigating, draining, and fencing, as well as for the improvements in the breeds of cattle, the introduction of new implements of husbandry, the durable materials of common implements, and the commodiousness of farm houses, and all their appendages. To these circumstances great attention is paid because it becomes every day a truth more generally understood, that the productive state of agriculture depends materially upon the money employed in its various branches. No other people have ventured to invest such large capitals in their lands; and foreign nations are as yet unacquainted with the invaluable secret, that the vegetable treasures which are buried in the earth, become the most abundant sources of wealth*.

Our agriculturists are daily improving in knowledge and daily applying that knowledge to practice. They are well skilled, as we have before observed, in the nature of different soils, and understand the best methods of meliorating them by various manures, the preservation of their fertility, and the increase of their produce by regular courses of crops. In short, they display a degree of diligence, spirit, and liberality in all rural improvements hitherto discovered, not to be equalled by any nation in the world.

4. Still however, even a careless observer may remark,

* "'The capital employment in husbandry in the British isles is considerably greater than is employed in France. It surely is not necessary to observe in this age, that the productive state of agriculture in a country depends much more upon the capital employed, than on any other circumstance whatever; and since ours is larger than that of France, though in the possession of fifteen millions of people only, (for that of France is to be connected with twenty-five or twenty-six millions) the British dominions ought to be essentially richer and more powerful than France.'

"I have calculated the capital of the farmers in France in all the provinces, and the medium of my notes is forty shillings an acre. A similar calculation of the capital employed in the husbandry of England gives four pounds per acre. By capital is meant the average of all farms, all stocks, and all periods of leases. Add thirty shillings for the less quantity of permanent improvements, and we have the total of three pounds ten shillings for the inferiority of French to English capital employed in agriculture, which upon 131,000,000 of acres forms a deficiency of 458,500,000l. sterling."

"With such an immense superiority in the produce of corn, the more obvious surprise should have been, that the resources of England, compared with those of France were not yet more decisive. But it is to be observed, that there are other articles of culture, to which recourse must be had for an explanation. Vines are an immense object in the cultivation of France, and yield all the advantages and even superior ones, to those afforded by the assiduous culture of corn in England, &c." See Young's France, p. 341, 343, 430.

that we have not yet reached the summit of excellence. Our ancestors have made a respectable progress in this art; yet much still remains for us and our posterity to accomplish. It will be the work of many succeeding generations to carry to their utmost bounds, the natural advantages of Great Britain. Where the ground is already cultivated, it is in many places capable of higher improvement; and where it is suffered to lie waste, its gloomy, wild, and unfruitful appearance is a tacit reproach of the public negligence. Inclosures have been found highly beneficial; and the practice of making them ought to become universal. The kingdom is deformed in many parts by immense heaths, moors, commons, marshes, and fens, amounting, according to some computations, to ten millions of acres. The extent of uncultivated ground in the vicinity of London is a glaring disgrace to our country. The tillage of any considerable proportion of this land would secure the nation against much of the evil of deficient crops; and the plenty of one district might supply upon a larger scale the deficiency of another. All the profits arising from the grain raised upon such lands would accrue to the public, as well as the wages of the husbandmen employed; and the increase of the stock of labour would contribute to remove the causes of emigration, idleness, and beggary. Waste lands, wherever the soil will admit of cultivation, ought to be enclosed, and converted into farms of various sizes. The practicability of such a plan will be evident on our reflecting, that where corn now grows in great abundance, many even of the present generation can remember wild heaths and barren wastes. Thus the public supply of provisions would in due time be greatly augmented, and the inhabitants of this kingdom would be enabled to make new exertions in proportion to the increase of cultivated land*.

* "Let it only be supposed that every field in England, of the same original quality with those in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, and consequently capable of the same fertility, were by a like management made to yield an equal produce; and it may be asserted, I believe with truth, that the quantity of human provision raised in the island would be increased five-fold." Paley, p. 590.

"It is observed in Mr. King's calculations, the accuracy of which has never yet been questioned, that of thirty-nine millions of acres in England, ten, or more than a fourth, consisted in heaths, moors, mountains, and barren lands; and this, exclusive of woods, forests, parks, commons, roads, &c. There have since that time been many improvements made. But it will surely be allowed no improbable assertion, that one fiftieth part may yet be gained from the unprofitable state in which it is. This, though purchased by the nation, would be no ex-

To carry such improvements into execution, every encouragement ought to be given by the legislature; and for what purposes could the public money be better employed, than in works of such general and obvious utility, all no less tending to the great increase of provisions, for an augmenting population, than to strengthen the arm of government, and promote the welfare and happiness of the people?

The tillage of land, before waste and unfruitful, is in every point of view an acquisition of territory highly beneficial. Unlike distant colonies, which furnish a perpetual pretext for hostility, lands newly cultivated excite no jealousy in the neighbouring states, and can furnish no grounds for those frequent wars, which are the severest scourges of mankind, and disgrace the professors of a religion founded for the express purpose of disseminating benevolence, and establishing peace.

The advice of projectors, when they direct their ingenuity to a subject so important as that we are discussing, calls for the most serious attention. Few plans recommended by them seem better calculated to carry the rural arts to perfection, than the establishment of experimental farms. These ought to be formed in different counties, and the expences defrayed by government. Here the nature of particular soils, as adapted to various modes and processes of cultivation, the peculiar qualities and comparative value of grasses and plants, might be ascertained. Here the best and most economical mode of rearing and fattening all kinds of useful animals might be tried, as well as the methods of abridging labour by improvements in machinery. Our country can boast of academies of painting, and societies for the encouragement of arts; but yet it wants *a practical institution* of this kind, conducted upon *an extensive and liberal scale*. By collecting and comparing the experiments made in these various places, great advantages might be gained: and for this purpose, a periodical publication of transactions would be highly useful, as a repository and vehicle of detached observations. By the admission of honorary members, this society might likewise carry on an extensive correspondence, include the patrons of the agricultural interest in all parts of the world, and compare their different processes, discoveries, and plans of operation for the purpose of general utility.

pence; for money expended by the public, for the immediate service of the public, cannot with propriety be called *expence*." Campbell, Pol. Surv. vol. ii, p. 732.

Abundance of food is the only wealth of the industrious poor, as other possessions, consisting in ample revenues, splendid houses and equipages, exclusively belong to the rich. Upon the quantity and cheapness of the common necessaries of life, the industry, health, and strength of the people, and of course the general comfort of society, and the prosperity of the nation, must ever depend. It is therefore the duty, as well as the interest, of government, to take every possible method to prevent their dearness, by guarding against their scarcity. Manufactures and commerce are the great sources of wealth; and in order to prevent them from being dried up and exhausted, it is necessary that agriculture should be an object of the first attention, and that its produce should be attainable at a cheap rate. It is an excellent observation, "that neither agriculture nor trade can flourish, where the general ease does not begin with the class of labourers." Priestley's Lectures on History, p. 367.

Nature will not suffer her laws to be violated; the call of the appetites is more importunate than the solicitations of fashion; and the means of subsistence must be secured to mankind before they go in search of superfluities. The arts of necessity are antecedent to those of elegance.

From the preceding observations may be deduced some of the most useful principles of *political economy*. The real power and opulence of a nation consist in *the number of its inhabitants well supplied with the necessaries of life;—subsistence is the proper measure of population,—and the earth is the source of subsistence.* All other means of wealth and dominion, such as *commerce, abundance of the precious metals, and extent of colonies*, promote the *true* prosperity of a state, only in proportion as they encourage AGRICULTURE, which is *the most valuable of the arts, as well as the most solid and most durable basis of Plenty and Power.*

CHAPTER III.

COMMERCE.

IS well described to be "an operation, by which the wealth or work either of individuals or of societies may be exchanged by merchants for an equivalent, proper for supplying every want without interruption to industry, or check

to consumption."* This subject will be considered with an immediate reference to the particular state and circumstances of our own country.

The natural advantages enjoyed by an ISLAND are superior to those which belong to any country, which forms a part of a continent. The soil of the former is commonly more rich, fertile, and various, than that of the latter. The sea affords the inhabitants security against the invasion of enemies, and furnishes them with inexhaustible supplies of provision. The fisheries on their coasts dispose islanders to navigation, and hence they are led to establish an extensive intercourse with the most distant places. From their general propensity to maritime affairs, they acquire a spirit of enterprize, and distinguish themselves by their courage in the maintenance of their own customs and forms of government; and frequently gain a permanent ascendency over neighbouring and even remote states.

To these general advantages, which were possessed in ancient times by Crete, and at a less distant period by Rhodes, Great Britain adds some, which are peculiar to herself. Her line of sea-coast is very extensive in proportion to the size of the whole island, and abounds with deep bays and capacious harbours. Her ports are convenient, and good for anchorage. Those on the western side of the island are nearly as well situated for the southern trade, as the French; and they are far superior in number, safety, and depth of water. With respect to the northern and the Baltic trades, the situation of France before the late war, when it had not the command of the coasts of Holland, admitted of no comparison. Rivers and numerous canals afford the convenience of water carriage to all the inland counties of England, and not only connect them with each other by the internal circulation of trade, but afford an easy and cheap conveyance to the ocean.

These various advantages have for successive ages been carefully improved, as the great works of public utility, completed in our sea-port towns, sufficiently attest. Harbours have been deepened, piers and moles have been erected to break the force of the waves, and form a safe asylum for ships. Wet and dry docks have been constructed for the building and reparation of ships, and commodious quays to unload their freights. In every place where necessity requires

* See Encyclop. Britann. vol. ii, p. 195. Priestley's Lectures on History, p. 386. For the rise and progress of commerce and navigation, and an excellent account of *Columbus* and his discoveries, see history of Modern Europe, vol. ii, p. 224, &c.

such aid, light-houses have been raised upon the lofty cliffs, to guide the mariner in the darkest nights along the dangerous coasts. These expensive and laborious works are carried on with ardour, to promote navigation in every direction, as London, Whitby, Liverpool, Yarmouth, Bristol, Ramsgate, and Falmouth, fully prove; so that British vessels can sail by every wind that blows: and the ships of foreign nations are invited, by such conveniences, to bring their numerous articles of commerce to every part of our shores. Such various monuments of utility prove the incessant energy of industry; and that in every instance, where the influence of government is propitious to the spirit of enterprize, those difficulties of nature and situation may be conquered, which past ages regarded as insurmountable.

The ardent and indefatigable diligence, which raises Great Britain above the rest of Europe, is visible in every place, distinguished by manufactories, mines, fisheries, and agriculture. In Manchester, Glasgow, and Norwich, the fabrication of cotton, wool, and flax, into cloth, linens, and stuffs, supplies multitudes of all ages with the means of subsistence. In Birmingham and Sheffield iron and other metals are worked for every purpose of use and ornament. The hardy inhabitants of the North and West labour in the productive mines of coals and metals; while the mariners either explore their own, or venture to the icy seas of Greenland, and the distant recesses of the southern Ocean, for various kinds of fish. The farmers cultivate the surface of the earth, and grain grows on extensive plains, which a century or two past exhibited, in pathless woods or barren heaths, the rudest state of nature.

This survey of the active industry of our countrymen, so much diversified, and operating in such various directions for the benefit of themselves and the community at large, must naturally awaken our curiosity to inquire, I. into the *advantages;* II. the *principles;* and, III. the *comparative state* of that commerce, which their labours enable the British merchant to extend to every part of the globe.

I. The great spring of commerce is mutual want of the necessary articles of life, or the supposition of want, with respect to luxuries and superfluities. This principle has the same operation, whether the farmer immediately sell his corn to the manufacturer, or whether the disposal of manufactures be more circuitous. The farmer, for instance, may not be in want of cloth and therefore will not give corn

to the weaver. In such a case the weaver sends his cloth to a foreign market, where it is exchanged for the wine of Portugal or the tea of China, which, when imported, the farmer readily purchases. The machine of commerce may appear vast and complicated, its movements may be many, and its operations circuitous; but the main spring *necessity*, either real or imaginary, is invariably the same.

Commerce is the source of wealth to the merchant; but its advantages are far from being confined to himself. It supplies the wants of one country by importing the articles of another, and gives a value to superfluities, which they could not otherwise possess. It increases the revenue of the state, and thus contributes to its general opulence and grandeur; and it preserves the independence of the British empire, by the strong support and large supplies afforded to our maritime strength. Hence we acquire a decided superiority over every other nation, and give the inhabitants of remote as well as neighbouring countries the most convincing proofs of our riches, prosperity, and power. No commercial country is long exposed to the evils of its own barrenness or necessities; and the riches of one place are soon made the common stock of all others. Commerce is the bond of general society, which unites the most distant nations by a reciprocal intercourse of good offices. By extending the sphere of activity through various parts of the earth, by satisfying the real and multiplying the imaginary wants of mankind, and by quickening their thirst for enjoyments, it becomes the most lively and most general principle, which actuates the world. Under its attractive and beneficent influence, the whole world becomes one city, and all nations one family.

The influence likewise, which it produces upon the *manners* of mankind, renders it a more interesting subject of investigation. A regular intercourse subsisting between different nations contributes to cure the mind of many absurd and hurtful prejudices. Trade carried on between persons of different sects and religions has a tendency to lessen the opposition of opinion, which was formerly the cause of hatred and hostility. It promotes benevolence of disposition, inasmuch as it extends the connexions and intercourse of society, and increases the love of peace and order, without which its operations cannot be carried on. The merchant engaged in honourable traffic is the friend of mankind, and is occupied in a constant exercise of good offices, for the benefit of his necessitous fellow creatures.

Commerce will be found to have had no small influence in calming the minds of the nations of the earth into a state of repose and complacency. The sudden revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events of ancient times resulted from that ferocity of temper, unsocial spirit, and inequality of ranks, which commerce tends to annihilate. Iron is now a material article of traffic, which was formerly employed only as an instrument of destruction. The states of Europe are brought nearly upon a level by this intercourse; a spirit of general emulation is excited, and it is justly remarked that those who possess the most extensive trade command the source of opulence and power. Through the bounty of nature most nations have some superfluity to exchange for the productions of others; and the expectation of gaining advantages, which they cannot otherwise secure, turns their ingenuity, labours, and enterprises into many different channels. Hence the arts of necessity and elegance are diligently cultivated, invention is roused to find new materials for foreign consumption, a competition arises between rival manufacturers and artists, and commerce employs and unites the families of the earth, from the frozen regions of Russia to the burning sands of Africa;—from the isles of Britain to the populous and vast dominions of China.

From this intercourse results an effect, which is peculiarly advantageous to the less polished and civilized nations. By the frequent communications which are necessary for the purpose of bartering commodities with the cultivated European, they are made acquainted with useful arts and improvements, and are taught the value of science, and the blessings of Christianity. Thus by degrees the great disparity between man and man is destroyed, useful knowledge finds its level, and the inhabitants of the different quarters of the world arrive at the equality of power, which awes ambitious nations into due respect and reverence for the general rights of mankind.

From commerce we likewise derive a more enlarged knowledge of the terraqueous globe, and its inhabitants. We become correctly acquainted with the animals, vegetables, and minerals of every soil and climate, and the natural history of all countries, no longer debased by exaggeration and fable, acquires the value of precision and truth. We enlarge our acquaintance with mankind, are enabled to estimate their different manners, remark how modes of life and habits of thinking are varied, according to their

different situations, and how the passions and dispositions are modified. The Laplander, like his climate, is dull, gloomy, and cold: the Asiatic, under the influence of an ardent sun, is fiery, sensual, and vindictive. Thus are we enabled, as we become more acquainted with the general faculties and powers of man, to complete our theories as to his true nature and constitution; and as we see him under every variation of climate and government, we can form a comparative estimate of his disposition, manners, and civil polity, founded upon the sure basis of fact and experience.

Among people of the same country, likewise, commercial intercourse gradually introduces a spirit of order and good government, and is highly favourable to the liberty and security of individuals. Its beneficial effects have been no less visible in conciliating the affections of the natives of the same country to each other. During the prevalence of the feudal system our ancestors lived in a state of suspicion, servile dependence, and war; and knew scarcely any distinctions, except those which subsisted between the different professions of the church and the army, or the more servile relations of lords and vassals. But at present, the various ranks of society are connected by closer ties, and entertain greater cordiality and esteem for each other, as their intercourse is more frequent, and the superiour refinements of society have quickened the sense of mutual want, and mutual dependence.

In Britain indeed commerce has acquired a degree of rank and dignity elsewhere unknown, except in the United States of America. Many of those engaged in it have done and continue to do it honour by the excellence of their education, and the liberality of their minds. Of those who do credit to the relations of domestic life, of those who are distinguished in the senate, for public spirit and useful knowledge, of those who at the call of distress come forward with the most prompt and liberal assistance, who is more conspicuous than the ENGLISH MERCHANT?

Attention to this subject will open a view of the intimate connexion subsisting between the landed and the trading interests. They can never be considered as clashing and distinct, without a manifest injury to both, and an ignorance of their respective effects and operations. How far each has contributed to improve the other, is evident from considering the comparative value of land, at a period antecedent to the present flourishing state of commerce. The

fee simple of estates is at least four times as valuable at present, as it was two centuries ago. This among many others that might be adduced, is a decisive proof that country gentlemen are in reality as much interested in the prosperity of trade, as even the merchants themselves. In short, agriculture and commerce have the same direct influence in promoting national abundance and prosperity. These effects they certainly will produce so long as the government of a country imposes no heavy burthen upon their exertions; but encouraging the enterprising spirit of individuals, who embark large fortunes in various concerns, promotes the interest of both merchants and cultivators of land at the same time, and maintains it in such due proportion, that the advancement of the one does not tend to the depression of the other.

A concern of such magnitude as commerce, involving such a variety of articles, carried on by such various means, and extended to such different climates, must necessarily be liable to many inconveniences, to which agriculture is not subject. Those who traffic in foreign countries subject themselves to the dangers of the sea, and the inclemency and diseases of cold and hot climates. In consequence of trading with the natives of countries less civilized and refined than themselves, and more weak and defenceless, they are tempted to practise the arts of chicanery, and to have recourse to acts of injustice and violence, and thus gradually become dead to the feelings of humanity, and regardless of the admonitions of religion. However incompatible commerce may appear to be with the work of destruction, it is often the cause of war. The desire of a small island, or the inconsiderable trade of a remote coast, are sufficient motives to rouse a rival nation to arms. These wars are fatal and destructive, in proportion to the number of the foreign settlements which belong to the great maritime powers of Europe. They spread like the wasting flames of a conflagration, involve every quarter of the globe in alarm and danger, and expose the lives and property of the unoffending natives to the attacks of unprovoked enemies. Some of the articles imported from foreign countries are such as make it doubtful whether they ought to be encouraged. The rum of the West Indies, which is the fruit of the toil and sufferings of some slaves, as well as the bribe given to Africa for the purchase of others, is too often used, when brought to the mother-country as the means of intoxication. Sugar, the produce

of those islands where war, pestilence, and the disorders of the elements, contend for the mastery in the destruction of man and his labours, ought to be rejected from our articles of luxury, until it is produced by the toil of freemen.

A sagacious writer has remarked, that in observing the advances of commerce "in its *first* stages, we shall find that it supplies mutual necessities, prevents mutual wants, extends mutual knowledge, eradicates mutual prejudice, and spreads mutual humanity. In its *middle*, and more advanced period, it provides conveniencies, increases numbers, coins money, gives birth to arts and sciences, creates equal laws, diffuses general plenty, and general happiness. If we view it in its *third* and highest stage, we shall see it change its nature and effects. It brings in superfluity and vast wealth, begets avarice, gross luxury, or effeminate refinement among the higher ranks, together with general loss of principle*."

II. The great principles of commerce are the result of sound reason, and the united experience of enlightened merchants. A short statement of some of them may tend to illustrate the nature of British traffic, and lead to important inquiries upon this subject in general.

Of all articles of commerce materials produced and manufactured at home are the most profitable. This is evident, because the whole labour for their cultivation, manufacture, and exportation, is divided among people of our own nation, and they exclusively share all the profits. Wool, which is the staple commodity of the kingdom, is made into broad cloth, which, before it reaches the consumer, undergoes a great variety of operations, and passes through an hundred different hands: so that there is no produce whatever, of which the benefits can be more widely diffused among the industrious part of the community. Suppose the value of English wool produced in one year to amount to three millions, the expence of working it up into various articles to be nine; its total value, when manufactured, will amount to twelve. Suppose we export annually to the value of three millions; and the number of persons maintained by this manufacture to be a million. Let it be considered that these persons expend what they earn in all the necessaries of life, and that the procuring such necessaries is a source of profit and employment to the other members

* Brown's Estimate of the Manners of the Times, p. 153.

of the community; and then we may judge, what an immense addition is made to the natural stock of industry and gain by this valuable article, even without taking into the account the sailors employed to export the various articles, into which it is wrought, and the artificers of machines used to accelerate many parts of the manufactures.

The next in value are raw materials imported from other countries, manufactured in England, and then reserved for domestic use, or exported for foreign consumption. Their importation precludes the want of foreign manufactures, prevents the balance of trade from inclining against us, and secures all the profit arising from passing entirely through the hands of our own countrymen.

It is a received maxim in commerce, which may at first sight appear paradoxical, considering the high estimation in which the precious metals are held, that it is better to take commodities of foreign growth in return for our own, than to be repaid with gold and silver. Although these metals are the ultimate objects of all commerce; yet to obtain them in so short and easy a manner would not augment the stock of the nation, in comparison to what is added by our taking raw materials, which will furnish employment for multitudes, and many of which are exported to the same countries, from whence they were originally brought. If, for instance, we take money for the broad cloth exported to Spain, the immediate profit may be considerable; but it establishes no lucrative reciprocity of commodities. But if we take wool in return, there is a new fund for the labour of the manufacturer, and an additional profit to be derived from its importation. The fleeces therefore of Andalusia are much more valuable objects of importation to the English merchant, if he consults the greatest advantage of his country, than the silver of Potosi, or the gold of Peru.

From these propositions may be drawn a corollary, that the utility of the various branches of foreign commerce is measured by the number of persons, which each branch employs and supports. It is evident, therefore, that the exchange of wrought goods for raw materials is much more lucrative than the exchange of one species of wrought goods for another; and that of course the exchange of our own raw materials for the wrought goods of other nations is extremely disadvantageous. If, for example, ten thousand Englishmen be employed to make cutlery ware for the French, and five thousand French be employed in cambrics

for the English, then the French must ultimately pay the five thousand men so employed, or, in other words, maintain them at their sole expence. It is true, that the value of the respective commodities makes a considerable difference in the sum paid to balance accounts: yet the great principle that it is not money, but labour properly recompensed, which constitutes the true wealth of nations, will always demonstrate, that the balance of trade is in favour of that country, which employs the greatest number of its subjects.

That nation will be both opulent and formidable, which conveys its own manufactures, or commodities of its own procuring, to foreign ports in its own vessels. For thus are secured all the branches of industry to its inhabitants, which can spring from any article of their trade, as it gives employment to the manufacturer and the sailor, with all their numerous train of dependent artisans, and ensures to them of course every profit and advantage, which their occupations can in any degree produce. This tends to the full establishment of navigation, and opens the wide and boundless ocean to its exertions. The Dutch were formerly the principal carriers for all the nations of Europe. This employment alone raised them to their late condition of wealth and prosperity. Such employment cannot however in itself be regarded as a permanent basis of power, and it is less profitable than either the domestic or foreign trade of consumption. It is also very precarious, because in proportion as other nations improve the advantages afforded by the convenience of their own harbours, and increase the quantity of their own productions, they will convey their own goods in their own ships. Such has been for some time the practice of England, as by far the most considerable part of British goods is exported in British vessels. Of the utility of this measure our ancestors were early sensible, as is evident from an act of parliament made in the reign of Richard II. The celebrated *Act of Navigation*, passed in the reign of Charles II. showed more fully the sentiments which the nation entertained of the importance of this practice. The immediate object of this act was to check the naval power of Holland. Considered as to its ultimate tendency, it was the wisest law which could possibly be framed, and has obtained the commendation of all persons, who have correct views of our commercial interests.

Under the influence of parliamentary encouragement, the advances made in the art of navigation and in the construction of ships have been equally remarkable. Attention to these objects has conduced to the improvement of the royal navy, which has gradually increased in proportion to the increase of merchant ships. By this circumstance the advantages of commerce, considered as a great national object, are fully displayed; for upon the number of sailors, and the quantity of shipping, depend the defence and security which Britain finds in her great and formidable fleets, and the glorious pre-eminence she maintains among the nations of Europe as THE FIRST OF MARITIME STATES.

As a nation may rise to opulence and power by acting upon such principles as those before established; so may it decline and be impoverished, if the scale be suffered to preponderate against her, by encouraging the commodities of other countries to the prejudice of her own. This will happen when articles of mere luxury are imported, and not taken in exchange for our own productions.

Much more disadvantageous is that trade, which introduces a commodity not only consumed among us, but which hinders the consumption of the like quantity of our own, as is the case with brandy and geneva, which diminish the consumption of malt, and are therefore with great propriety subjected by government to high duties. But that is undoubtedly the most injurious of every species of traffic, which supplies the same goods we can produce ourselves, especially if we can make a sufficient quantity for our own consumption. This is the case with cloth, silk, china, and muslins, the manufactories for which have been established, with great labour and expence, in various parts of England.

To enumerate other maxims of commerce is to transcribe the works of the most approved authors who have written at large upon the subject. The most important of them all may be compressed into one grand summary. That species of commerce, which makes money flow *most copiously*, keeps public and private credit *high*, which gives to the merchant a *reasonable profit*, and to the labourer and artisan a *comfortable subsistence* in return for their industry; which increases the value and the rent of *land*, and produces a considerable revenue to the *state*, must always be esteemed the most valuable: since these are the *only indubitable marks*, by which the advantage of any public or pri-

vate trade can be demonstrated. And it may be proper to observe, that the same criteria which assist us in judging by what kinds of trade we gain or lose, will likewise direct us what treaties of commerce are beneficial, or the contrary.

"No certain method has been as yet pointed out to ascertain the *balance* of trade. It can never be known from the exports and imports for a few years, even if these statements could be absolutely depended upon. The rate of exchange, which has been called a political barometer, would be really so, if commerce only operated upon it: but this not being the case, it can be no rule at all. The custom-house books are no unerring guides; whatever is smuggled does not appear; some exports are beyond the truth, and some things are not rated at all. The plenty or scarcity of money cannot for many reasons be relied on. After all, our foreign traffic hath been for a series of years increasing: if the general balance had been against us, we must by this time have been brought very low, if not totally undone. But as every thing we see proves the contrary, it may serve to convince us; and this the rather, because foreigners show their sense of the matter by the sums they entrust in the public funds*."

As British commerce has increased in importance, it has in a proportionable degree engaged the attention of the legislature. The exclusive privileges of trading to particular places have been given to companies of merchants; and rewards have been held out to encourage the productions of our own country, and exclude those of foreigners. Accordingly penalties have been laid both upon the importation of such articles as can be produced at home, and upon the importation of such articles from countries, where the balance of trade is against us. The exportation of our own produce has been encouraged by drawbacks, bounties, advantageous treaties of commerce with foreign states, and the establishment of colonies.

The privileges granted to chartered companies by government have undoubtedly encouraged a spirit of monopoly, and been too favourable to the exclusive interests of a few merchants, at the expense of the public at large. By the charter of the East India company the rest of the nation are excluded from trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope; and by the charter of the Turkey Company they are prohibited from having any commerce with the dominions of

* Campbell's Political Survey, vol. ii, p. 795.

the Grand Signior. Thus the interests of the whole are sacrificed to the emolument of a few. A small number of merchants confine their exports and imports to as small a quantity as they please. The natural consequence is, that they confine the markets to themselves, and they can both buy and sell at their own price. As charters confer exclusive privileges, they operate as a check upon all those who come not within their limits, and in their own nature produce an established monopoly. They are therefore inconsistent with a received maxim, which suggests the expediency of competition to render trade advantageous to the public.

"All restrictions on trade are naught: and no company whatever, whether they trade in a joint stock or under regulations, can be for public good, except it may be easy for all, or any of his Majesty's subjects, to be admitted into them, at any time, for a very inconsiderable fine*."

Still, however, it must be acknowledged, as a vindication of those, who have instituted the present system of commerce, that they were obliged sometimes to adapt their measures to the circumstances of particular times, and to assimilate their plans to those of other nations, in order to secure equal advantages. No individual merchant was bold enough to embark his whole property in the adventurous issue of a distant trade; whereas numbers were inclined to associate for that purpose, because the sum employed in the adventure was not of material consequence, whatever might be the result of the enterprize. The legislature gave them a charter as a recompence for their risk; and, regarding only their immediate benefit, looked not forward to a time when the mercantile spirit would be more widely diffused, and British subjects would complain that any other limits, except those of nature, were set to their exertions.

But it seems at present to be admitted as a settled principle that commercial companies are injurious rather than beneficial to the public, as they trade at much more expence than individuals, and give rise to illegal traffic, which is proved by the number of neutral vessels, that carry English goods to foreign ports. The Americans are sensible of these inconveniencies, and therefore open a free trade to all parts of the world. Destitute of established colonies, they rival us in the various branches of our trade with the East Indies.

* Sir J. Child. This principle is adopted by Smith, and very fully treated in his Wealth of Nations, vol. i, p. 201. vol. iii, p. 110.

III. That we derive great advantages from our extensive commerce is evident from a comparison between the former and present state of our public and private affairs. The wool of England, which at present constitutes the staple commodity of our traffic, was in former times sent abroad, and returned to this country in a manufactured state. Germany furnished our ancestors with hardware; at present the hardware of Sheffield and Birmingham has an unrivalled market in various parts of Europe, Asia, and America. The common interest of money was twelve per cent.; and it at present fluctuates, in time of peace, from three to five, which it cannot legally exceed. Land was sold for no more than twelve years purchase which can be disposed of for thirty. For the elegant articles of looking glasses, paper, and silk, the pride and boast of France; for the carpets of Turkey; for the porcelain and the beautiful and fantastic ornaments of China; for the clocks and watches of Germany; and the glass of Italy; our workmen can substitute such productions as are little, if at all inferior in materials or execution, in elegance of design, or cheapness. The coal-trade which for ages was considered merely as a local convenience, is now become the basis of all the northern coasting trade; and nurses and maintains many more seamen than before that period were supported by the whole commerce of the nation. The streams of traffic have been turned into new channels, and now fertilize our soil much more than they formerly enriched the nations of the continent. We excel those by whom we have been taught the various arts of manufacture; for all countries attest, by their regular and extensive dealings with us, the ingenuity, expedition, and dexterity of our workmen.

"The discovery of America made an essential change in the state of Europe. By opening a new and inexhaustible market to all the commodities of Europe, it gave occasion to new divisions of labour and improvement of art, which in the narrow circle of the ancient commerce could never have taken place for want of a market, to take off the greater part of their produce. The productive powers of labour were improved, and its produce increased in all the different countries of Europe, and together with it, the real revenue and wealth of the inhabitants." Wealth of Nations, vol. ii, p. 170.

The population not only of great cities, but of villages, has particularly increased in the manufacturing counties of the north, with the increasing means of subsistence. Com-

pared with their present magnitude and splendour, both in public and private, the English cities of former ages were villages, and houses were little better than cottages. The comforts and luxuries of life are increased by the accumulated fruits of every climate, and the house of every gentleman is a repository of choice productions of the most distant countries. The NAVY OF ENGLAND, which once consisted of nothing more than inconsiderable barks, is now composed of the largest ships. To the islands at the extremities of the globe it conveys protection, or it threatens vengeance. Its resistless strength let France, and Spain, and Holland proclaim; since their own annals can instruct them, that Britain rose in former times superior to their separate attacks. Their generation has witnessed her power in repelling their combined efforts, when leagued in formidable confederacy to subdue her, exhausted by a war with her American colonies. Braving their utmost fury, her soldiers defied their enemies from the rock of Gibraltar, and her sailors bore her triumphant flag from the northern seas to the shores of India.

Nor did the *late war* afford less opportunities of displaying her maritime glory. The single force of Britain was again opposed to France, to Spain, and to Holland: and yet, under circumstances of peculiar disadvantage and difficulty, their numerous fleets were in every place defeated; and the exploits of Howe, St. Vincent, Duncan, Nelson, Smith, and Warren, have entitled them no less to the gratitude of their country, than the praises of all succeeding generations.

These advantages have Britons derived from their insular situation, improved by a spirit of enterprise, and heightened by indefatigable industry. They experience the best effects of commerce in the refinement of national manners, in public magnificence, and private abundance, united with the ability of defending against the attacks of the most formidable invaders, all the blessings conferred by the possession of liberty, and the enjoyment of property. Around the wide compass of the globe we may look in vain for a country, which has of late years discovered more strong indications of growing prosperity; for have we not great and flourishing towns, filled with magnificent private houses, stately public buildings, accessible by convenient roads and elegant bridges, surrounded by lands well cultivated, and inhabited by people of all ranks, better supported than those of the same classes in any country in Europe? Have we not an extensive foreign trade, great domestic produce, the circulation of property quick

and unembarrassed, an easy and expeditious transfer of property in the national funds, public and private credit high, and a powerful navy? A combination of such important circumstances necessarily proves a nation to be opulent, prosperous, and powerful.

Such are the imperfect outlines of the actual state of this island. It is however far distant from the point of perfection, to which it is capable of advancing. The capacity it possesses for commercial is as remarkable as that which it claims for agricultural improvement. It is such as calls not only for the attention of the legislature, but of every gentleman, who wishes to advance his own interest, and the general good. The counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, are double the province of Holland in extent; but in population they fall short, in the proportion of one to eight. Many parts of Wales show the remains of cities once more populous, and of roads once much more frequented than at present. The cattle in the pastures, fish in the waters, and metals and coals in the mountains, clearly point out the means of again restoring or exceeding its ancient prosperity; more particularly as the country abounds with water and fuel—the two great instruments of manufactures. Many rivers in different parts of our island ought to be deepened, widened, and made navigable; and many more canals dug to convey various kinds of goods at a small expence to a quick market. These salutary measures would produce the general improvement of all the surrounding country.

The timber, which we purchase in foreign countries for ship building, and other purposes, might be raised upon some of those large tracts of land, heaths, commons, and hills, which are suffered to lie waste. To a commercial and maritime people, it is an object of the greatest concern to be independent, particularly in this respect, of precarious and foreign supplies.

A repeal of the severe penalties on the exportation of wool would doubtless prove highly beneficial; and no reason can be given for the present restriction, which does not as well apply to the exportation of wheat. With respect to that important article, which may be considered as a species of manufacture as well as wool, it is well known, that the increase of its culture, by bringing large tracts of land into tillage, has been immense, since the bounty allowed on its exportation. Bounties might likewise prove highly advantageous by the promotion of the various fisheries in Scotland, and upon our coasts. They are able to supply an almost

inexhaustible stock of provision—they furnish a nursery for seamen, and on that account merit every encouragement.

Although its inhabitants have been nearly doubled within a century, yet the island of Great Britain is by no means so populous as its size will admit. How beneficial, therefore, must any measure be, which induces the natives of this country to remain contented at home, as well as encourages persecuted foreigners to bring useful arts from their own country, and settle in England! The heavy taxes laid by government upon the most necessary articles of life, as well as the fines imposed by corporations on ingenious artisans, are weights laid upon trade and industry which clog the wheels of the commercial machine, and impede its due motion. To prevent the state from losing from such sums being withdrawn from the public treasury, taxes might be laid upon articles of luxury, extravagance, and foreign produce. If our manufactures cannot be sold at a moderate price, they will not long continue to be purchased by foreigners; and if that channel of traffic be dried up, we shall be exposed to depopulation, poverty, and all the unhappy consequences of expiring trade. Our merchants, if oppressed by accumlated taxes, will not be able to stand in competition with those of France, which, not burthened with a national debt in any degree equal to ours, will not only undersell us in the foreign markets, but will draw English capitals from this country, and encourage emigration by the cheapness of the necessary articles of life. Any alleviation with respect to duties will be so far from a detriment, that it will ultimately prove an advantage to the public revenues. Weights and measures ought to be brought to the same precise standard all over the kingdom, in order that many of the frauds which now prevail may be removed. The number of ale-houses ought to be diminished, as they are not only the haunts of intemperance, but the retreats of idleness; they produce a fondness for dissipation, which is highly injurious to domestic habits of life; and they corrupt the minds and relax the industrious habits of the common people.

There exist, without doubt, many causes, which obstruct the execution of such projects; and the great expense, the discord of clashing interests, and the varieties of opinion upon these subjects, may long retard their execution. There is, however, sufficient ground to expect, that they may in process of time be partially, if not completely, adopted; since it is a truth, confirmed by daily observation, that our countrymen are sufficiently disposed to embark their property in

a joint stock; and when the utility of an enterprize will justify their attempts, they come forward with alacrity to engage in all public works. Their capitals are much larger than formerly, and of course they are better enabled to run the risk of expensive undertakings.

The first steps in the useful arts, which are the most difficult, have long ago been taken; their fruits are reaped by society at large, and furnish the greatest incitements to perseverance. Of this kind is the encouragement given to navigable canals, which afford the cheapest and most easy circulation of inland commerce. We may reasonably indulge the hope that many such schemes will be realized, because the greatest works, of which we now reap the benefit, once existed only in plans and projects. However at first condemned by the ignorant and ridiculed by the idle they were at last reduced to practice.

It is the happy characteristic of the English to improve upon the arts of other nations; it only remains therefore, that, in order to complete our reputation for this excellence, we adopt every useful scheme, and, by adding our dexterity to the invention of others, make nearer approaches to perfection.

The CAPACITY FOR IMPROVEMENT visible in our soil and its productions constitutes the intrinsic and transcendant excellence of our island; and the industry and public spirit of its inhabitants form some of the most valuable parts of our national character.

These united advantages undeniably prove, upon a comparison with the circumstances of the other nations of Europe, that Great Britain is eminently qualified by art and nature to carry on a widely extended commerce, as she derives every requisite for that purpose from her insular situation, the produce of her lands and plantations, the excellence and variety of her manufactures, the skill and perseverance of her sailors, and the opulence and enterprising disposition of her merchants.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

AS travelling is considered a part of education indispensably necessary for all young men of rank and fortune, it

becomes a very interesting subject of observation. The most important topics which this subject includes are its *general advantages*, the consideration of the *time of life* when the traveller ought to begin his excursions, the *previous information* necessary to be acquired, the *countries most proper* to be visited, the *objects* most deserving his attention; and what are the *best effects*, which a tour through foreign countries is calculated to produce upon the *character and manners*.

Travelling, as far as it introduces a man into genteel and well informed society in various parts of the world, and leads to an extensive knowledge of persons and places, expands the mind, removes local prejudices, produces a comparison between our own and foreign countries, satisfies that curiosity and that fondness for change, which are so natural to mankind, supplies new sources of pleasing and useful information, and conduces to the increase of philanthropy and generosity of sentiment. He who is confined to his own country reads only one page of the book of human nature, and perpetually studies the same lesson; nor does he understand that completely, from his ignorance of its relative merit, and connexion with all other parts.

If the great and the opulent reside constantly in their own country, they are acquainted only with a luxurious, easy, and enervating mode of living. Foreign travel enures them to the severity of wholesome hardships; the dangers of the sea, disturbed nights, scanty fare, uncomfortable inns, and bad roads diversify their lives, and place them in new situations. Thus they experience such changes and wants, as render the luxuries which they can command at home, and which otherwise would be insipid, the sources of real enjoyment; and their occasional privations of ease and plenty may increase their sympathy for the lower and more indigent classes of the community.

He who forms his notions of mankind from his constant residence in one and the same place, resembles the child who imagines the heavens are confined to his own limited prospect. The Russians, before the reign of Peter the Great, thought themselves possessed of every national blessing, and held all other people in contempt; so contracted were they in their notions as to believe that their northern mountains encompassed the globe. The untravelled Spaniard may suppose that every Englishmen is dressed in

boots and a hunting-cap, and that horses and dogs are the constant subjects of his thoughts and conversation. The untravelled Englishman may imagine that the Spaniard is always wrapt in a cloak, that he is a prey to perpetual jealousy, and is haughty, superstitious, and inactive. These misconceptions may probably result, in a considerable degree, from the popular novels of each country; and the Knight of La Manca and Squire Western may have equally caused them to mistake a particular for a general character, and filled them with false and exaggerated notions of each other. Thus is one nation disposed to draw such a caricature of another, as gives an extravagant as well as an unpleasing idea of the original: it is only amid the civilities of mutual intercourse, and the exchange of friendly offices, that the true and faithful likeness can be taken.

"Not long ago the map of the world in China was a square plate, the greater part of which was occupied by the provinces of that vast empire, leaving on its skirts a few obscure corners, into which the wretched remainder of mankind were supposed to be driven. If you have not the use of *our* letters, nor the knowledge of *our* books, said a mandarin to a European missionary, what literature, or what science *can* you have." Ferguson on Civil Society, p. 313.

Travelling not only divests the mind of such prejudice as this, but gives the highest polish to the manners. This polish however does not result from that excessive attention of the traveller to his deportment and external appearance, which takes off the mind from more important pursuits, and gives a studied air to his general behaviour; but arising originally from true benevolence, and a desire to please, is perfected by intercourse with well-bred and polite company, displays itself upon every occasion in an easy an unaffected carriage, an unembarrassed address, and proper attention to all around him. It has no connexion with effeminacy or formal ceremony, or with that cringing mien and affected complaisance, which would be inconsistent with the ingenuousness, and would lessen the dignity of a British gentleman.

The *qualifications* of a young traveller ought to be such, as may not only exempt him from the imputation of frivolous curiosity, but enable him to derive the greatest advantages from his excursions. His mind ought to be im-

proved by a classical education: after having studied at the university the most important points, which form the subjects of this work, he will be well qualified for his intended tour. He ought to possess a critical knowledge of his own language, to understand the laws, constitution, and history of his own country, the forms of proceeding in our courts of justice, and the state of our commerce, agriculture, and arts. In such points he ought by no means to be deficient: since to make a comparison between other countries and his own, is more particularly requisite as an obvious and leading object of attention. Such preparatory acquirements will give a young man great advantages in his conversation with foreigners, particularly if they are intelligent and well informed. They form the basis of education, upon which travelling may be raised, as its highly ornamental and elegant superstructure.

Let him not hasten to *foreign* countries, before he has satisfied his curiosity by exploring the most interesting parts of his *own*. There are various places which will fully repay the labour and expense of his excursions, directed as they may be to different and pleasing objects of pursuit and observation. It is almost superfluous to mention the wild and romantic scenes of Wales, and the North of England; the highly cultivated fields of Norfolk, Berkshire, and Kent; the manufactures and commerce which distinguish London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and the large and populous county of York; the beautiful scenes of the Isle of Wight and Derbyshire, and the flourishing cities, fisheries, and manufactories of Scotland. In the course of these domestic excursions, whatever is most beautiful and curious in the fine arts, whatever is deposited in the cabinets of the virtuosi, produced in manufactories, or dug in the mines, should not be disregarded.

"In those vernal seasons of the year, when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much then, after two or three years that they have laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies with prudent and staid guides, to all quarters of the land; learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil for towns and tillage, harbours, and ports for trade; sometimes taking sea as far as to our navy, to learn there also what they can on the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight. These

ways would try *all their peculiar gifts of nature*; and if there were any secret excellence among them, would fetch it out, and give it fair opportunities to advance itself by, which could not but mightily redound to the good of the nation, and bring into fashion again those old admired virtues and excellencies, with far more advantage, now in this purity of Christian knowledge." Milton's Tractate on Education.

Such excursions to the most interesting parts of his own country will sharpen the appetite of the young traveller for the curiosities of other countries, and place him upon equality with those inquisitive foreigners who resort to England. And such foreigners indeed cannot give a stronger proof of their discernment and well directed curiosity. Considering the progress made in arts and sciences, the improvements introduced by commerce and agriculture, the number of our flourishing and opulent cities especially the inexhaustible wonders of our metropolis, the variety and ingenuity of our manufactories, the splendour of our court; the prospects of the country, diversified with all the beauties of nature; the collections of pictures, statues, and natural curiosities; our formidable navy, which is the terror and the admiration of the world; the character of the men, ingenuous, intelligent, and hospitable; the beauty, delicacy, and modesty of the women—considering all these circumstances, we cannot attribute the satisfaction which they express, during their residence among us, to mere flattery: but may fairly conclude, that it arises in a great degree from the genuine pleasure, which they derive from the survey of one of the most interesting countries in the world*.

It is not common to meet with travellers, who are grossly ignorant of many interesting parts of their native country. The French are remarkable for this defect, and the English are far from being exempt from it. Too many of our countrymen, who go abroad, are unacquainted not only with places remote from that in which they were born or educated, but with many things, to which they had it in their power to be familiarized from their infancy. An Englishman once discovered very great surprise, when he was informed at Rome, that the church of *St. Stephen's*

* Dean Tucker has given an excellent list of the objects most deserving the attention of a foreigner, who travels in England. Essay on Trade, p. 111.

Walbrook, was one of the most elegant specimens of modern architecture. Such ignorance exposes the traveller to the ridicule, and perhaps contempt of intelligent foreigners; and may induce him to express his admiration even of inferior productions abroad, where he may be informed that finer specimens of art are to be seen in his own country.

If such qualifications as those before stated be necessary, the traveller cannot of course be very young, when he sets out upon his excursions. All the writers upon the subject, particularly Milton and Locke, concur in reprobating the custom of sending a raw and inexperienced boy abroad. Lord Chesterfield indeed, if his recommendation should carry much weight, appears to countenance it: but we must recollect, that the plan of education, which he proposed for his son, had not only a general view to form a polished man of the world, but to qualify him for a diplomatic department*. Before a proper age, a youth is exposed to every inconvenience and danger, which can possibly arise from quitting his own country. Previous to that period, the curiosity of a young man is commonly indiscriminate, his judgment is incorrect and hasty; and of course he is inadequate to the just comparison between what he has left at home, and what he observes abroad. It is vainly expected by parents, that the authority of a travelling tutor will be sufficient to prevent the indiscretion of their son, and confine his attention to proper objects of improvement; but admitting every tutor to be a Mentor, every pupil may not be a Telemachus†. The gaiety, follies, and voluptuousness of the continent solicit in such captivating forms the inclinations of the young, that they soon become deaf to the calls of admonition. No longer subject to the con-

* Lord Chesterfield's best observations on the use and improvement of travelling are to be found in Letters 79, 98, 150, 235, 256, 265.

† "Much of the success certainly depends on the choice of the *tutor* or travelling companion. He should be a grave respectable man, of a mature age. A very young man, or a man of levity, however great his merit, learning, or ingenuity, will not be proper; because he will not have that natural authority and personal dignity, which command attention and obedience. A grave and good man will watch over the morals and religion of his pupil; both which, according to the present mode of conducting travel, are commonly shaken from the basis, and levelled with the dust, before the end of the peregrination. A tutor of character and principle will resolve to bring his pupil home, if it is possible, not worse in any respect than he was on his departure." Knox on Education, vol. ii, p. 305.

trol of a teacher or a parent, they are eager to follow the dictates of their own inclinations, and to launch out into the wide ocean of indulgence and dissipation. "But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observations, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they pass, and the society and friendship of those in all places, who are best and most eminent, and perhaps then other nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own country." Milton on Education, p. 21.

It should be the particular care of those, who wish to turn their travelling to the greatest advantage, and to save considerable time and expense, to communicate their intentions of going abroad to some intelligent persons, who have pursued the same route, which they intend to take. It will be highly useful to obtain *written* instructions from them, as they afford more room for deliberate reflections, than mere oral directions admit of. The more time the traveller has previously bestowed upon acquiring a knowledge of the country he intends to visit, the better will he be qualified to ask proper questions on his arrival there; and the more nearly will he approach to the advantageous situation of him who has visited the country before.

Travelling at too early an age may be greatly injurious in its consequences. If the elements of literature and science are not acquired, when the mind is in the most ductile state, and the memory is most tenacious and retentive, a youth will never gain correct and accurate knowledge. On his return home, he will probably be engaged in business, or a constant round of society, and consequently will have little leisure to attend to the improvement of his mind. Having been early accustomed to wander from one object to another, and fond of displaying his superficial accomplishments, he will never apply himself to regular study; he will resemble the gaudy butterfly, rather than the industrious bee, which extracts sweets from every flower. He ought to go abroad a year or two before he is expected to appear upon the stage of public life at home. By that time his disposition and general character may be ascertained, and his habits of thinking will in a great degree be formed. Having had some experience, and beginning to exercise his own judgment, he will not then be so dazzled with first appearances; nor will he esteem the productions or the

manners of foreign countries excellent, merely because they have the recommendation of novelty, and differ from his own. He will not think every opera-singer a worthy object of his affections; nor will he regard every sycophant, whose address is insinuating, and whose professions of service are profuse, as a sincere and valuable friend. His morals will be less liable to be corrupted, and his fortune more secure from the insidious arts of parasites and courtesans. In Paris, Vienna, Brussels, and all other great cities of Europe, artful men and women lay innumerable snares to catch the raw and inexperienced; many of those young men, who resort too early to the continent, can fully attest their success; since from such improper and dangerous acquaintance, they frequently trace the loss of health and fortune, and the sacrifice of those wholesome pre-possessions in favour of their own religion, country, and government, which were implanted in their early years. Hence too, when their minds are so susceptible of every impression, they take the stamp of foreign manners, and become deeply tinctured with frivolousness and affectation. "In general the man depends intirely on the boy; and he is all his life long what the impressions he received in his early days have made him. If therefore any considerable part of this precious season be wasted in foreign travel, I mean if it be actually not employed in the pursuits proper to it, this circumstance must needs be considered as an objection of great weight to that sort of education." Hurd's Dialogues, vol. iii, p. 76.

To contemplate the face of nature, and examine the works of art, in different countries, agreeable and instructing as such researches may be, are far from constituting all the objects, which the traveller has to occupy his attention provided he takes proper advantage of the opportunities afforded to him of seeing and knowing the world. The display of manners is as much open to his researches, as the prospects of nature, or the cabinets of art. It is his important business to study mankind; and he cannot possibly apply to that study with success, unless he has attained a mature age; nor can he indeed gain a welcome admittance into respectable and improving company; for it is not reasonable to suppose that foreigners, distinguished by rank, abilities, or attainments, will be eager to converse with unpolished boys, just freed from school: they may however be gratified by the attention of those young men, who have knowledge to communicate, as well as to gain; whose curiosity is directed to proper objects; and who increase the

reputation of their country by their ingenuous disposition, respectability of character, and propriety of behaviour*.

From the *expedition* with which some travellers proceed, we are not to conclude that knowledge of the world may be caught by a transient glance, or that they belong to that high order of genius, who can "grasp a system by intuition." They might gain as much information if they were wafted over the continent by a balloon, as they acquire by viewing a country, during their rapid progress through it, from the windows of a carriage. The various places, through which they hasten, can only appear to them like the shifting scenes of a pantomime, which just catch the eye for a moment, and succeed so rapidly as to obliterate the faint impressions of each other. We are told of a noble Roman, who could recollect all the articles sold at an auction, as well as the names of the several purchasers. The memory of such volatile travellers ought to be of equal capacity and retentiveness, considering the few hours they allow themselves for the inspection of curiosities, and the short time of their residence in different places.

Ignorance of the modern languages, and especially of the French and the German, is a great obstacle to the improvement of many Englishmen, and prevents them from reaping the desired advantages from their travels. The custom is too prevalent of postponing any application to foreign languages, until a few months before the grand tour is commenced. The pupil is encouraged by the compliments of his teacher to flatter himself that a slight degree of attention to a few hasty lessons will produce extraordinary proficiency, and make him a complete linguist. From a knowledge of the customary forms of address, and the names of common objects, the French language is improperly supposed to be very easy to be acquired. No allowance is made for the variety of the irregular verbs, the idiomatic structure of sentences, and choice of words, the peculiar turn of fashionable phrases, or for the great difficulty of acquiring a just and correct pronunciation. His deficiencies in all these particulars are too frequently apparent, as soon as the young traveller has crossed the Channel. After exchanging a few compliments, which he expresses in the formal language of his vocabulary, his conversation is at an end: his faltering tongue and embarrassed air discover that he la-

* See Lord Essex's Letter to the Earl of Rutland, and that of Sir Philip Sydney to his brother, which contain some excellent advice to travellers. Seward's Biography, vol. ii, p. 358, &c.

bours with ideas, which he wants words to express. If he can arrive after much hesitation at the arrangement of a sentence, all the politeness even of a Frenchman is requisite to palliate his mistakes. Frequent attempts will without doubt produce fluency, and constant care will secure correctness; but the misfortune is, that the young traveller is too often employed in acquiring a knowledge of words and phrases when he ought to be improving his mind in social intercourse with those to whom he is recommended.

This defect in their education is a great inducement to Englishmen to associate too much with their countrymen, when they are abroad. Hence on reaching any of the great towns upon the continent, they are fond of forming parties among themselves, and are busy in prejudicing each other against the inhabitants of whom they know little from their own experience, and of whom they do not feel the laudable desire of knowing more. It is obvious that such conduct is calculated *to frustrate the principle end* of travelling, by increasing those prejudices, which it ought to remove, and by inducing the young traveller to acquiesce in the misrepresentations of others, who may pretend to give him a true description of characters and manners. As he has the opportunity of ascertaining these points himself, his own experience is his best guide. Should he continue to associate only with Englishmen, he will gradually so narrow the circle of his observation, as to confine his attention to places, when it ought to be directed to persons; he will merely gratify his sight and neglect to improve his understanding; and will be conversant with pictures and public buildings, and a stranger to polite and well informed societies. "Without possessing the language it is impossible to appreciate either the genius or the character of a nation. Interpreters can never supply the defect of a direct communication. And without continuing a sufficient time, no traveller can form an accurate judgment: for the novelty of every thing around us naturally confounds and astonishes. The first tumult must subside, and the objects which present themselves *be repeatedly examined*, before we can be certain the ideas we have formed are just. To see well is an art which requires more practice than is commonly imagined." Preface to Volney's Travels, p. iv.

I will beg leave to recommend one example, that of Cicero, as a model for the conduct of travel. "He did not set out till he had completed his education at home; and after he had acquired, in his own country, whatever was

proper to form a worthy citizen and magistrate of Rome, he was confirmed, by a *maturity of age and reason*, against the impressions of vice. In a tour the most delightful of the world, he saw every thing that could entertain a curious traveller; yet staid no where any longer than his benefit, not his pleasure, detained him. By his previous knowledge of the laws of Rome, he was able to compare them with those of other cities, and to bring back with him whatever he found useful either to his country or himself. He was lodged, wherever he came, in the houses of the great and eminent, not so much for their birth and wealth, as their virtue, knowledge, and learning: these he made the constant companions of his travels.——It is no wonder that he brought back every accomplishment which could improve and adorn a man of sense." Middleton's Life of Cicero.

Wherever the traveller may direct his steps the particular objects of attention will always have a reference to his inclinations, his education, or his future employment in life. He who goes abroad solely for his amusement, or merely to observe the fashions of the various places, deserves not the respectable appellation of a *traveller*, any more than the merchant, or the sailor, who traverses the ocean for the purposes of commerce. Those who properly come under this description are eager to make such researches as show their love of nature, science, and the great objects, which conduce to the comfort and ornament of mankind. Among such travellers we distinguish a *Banks*, who visited the confines of the southern hemisphere, to add new plants to the dominion of Botany; a *Shuckburgh*, who ascended the Alps, with undaunted perseverance to ascertain their altitude; a *Hamilton*, who explored Italy and Sicily, to survey and to preserve the precious relics of ancient art; a *Gray*, who, with true epistolary ease, and genuine taste, described every place and object so perfectly, as to set it immediately before the eye: a *Moore*, who has conveyed in the form of striking anecdote, the lively pictures of French and Italian manners; a *Young*, who, studious to improve the most beneficial of all arts, has described the state of agriculture in various climes; or a *Howard*, who, visiting the sick and the imprisoned of various countries, and zealous to alleviate their distresses, whether felt in the confinement of a dungeon, or the loathsomeness of an hospital, proved himself, by the labours and the sacrifice of his life, to be a true friend to mankind. It is surely an honour, not only to our own country, but to human nature, that the spirit of curiosity

should exert itself in such various directions; since new observations and discoveries have thus been made for the enlargement of knowledge, and the general benefit of society.

To tread on classic ground is a very pleasing source of gratification to the youthful traveller. He has it in his power to adopt the most direct method of illustrating the allusions to manners, customs, and places, found in his favourite authors, and to supply the defects of commentators and critics by his own actual observations. He who relishes the beauties of a Virgil, or a Horace, will be eager to visit the spots, either marked by their footsteps, or immortalized by their poems. What delight will he experience when he sees the Po flowing through the meadows of Mantua, and afterwards rushing by various streams into the gulph of Venice; or when he traverses the shores of Baiæ, and wanders amid the groves of Umbria! The Anio dashing its foamy surges through the craggy channels of the rocks, and the hills of Tivoli, interspersed with orchards, olive grounds, and corn-fields, recal Horace and Catullus to his remembrance. These scenes ever endeared to learning and taste, inspired many of the lively festive Odes and of the one, and of the tender and pensive Elegies of the other.

Doubtless these and similar places may owe much of their beauty to the power of *description;* and actual observation may efface the rich and glowing tints of poetical colouring: yet still a prospect of the spots where heroes achieved their noblest exploits, or where the great poets, orators, and historians poured forth the streams of genius, must afford exquisite pleasure to every cultivated mind. If the scenes they inhabited or described do not exactly correspond with the high expectations conceived from their works, yet such an actual survey will inspire the classical traveller with the most pleasing enthusiasm, give him lively images of the descriptions, which charmed his youthful fancy, and endear the objects of his early studies.

The effects likely to be produced upon the mind by such scenes are described with his usual strength of observation by Johnson, in his Tour to the Hebrides. "At last we came to Icolmkill. We were now treading that illustrious island, which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, where savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power

of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us to the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends be such frigid philosophy, as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground, which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." Tour to the Hebrides, p. 346.

His mind will be filled with admiration at the sight of the monuments of architecture. Rome sufficiently displays the extent of her pristine grandeur and magnificence; and proves, amid massy ruins, broken arches, and prostrate columns, the justice of her pretensions to the title of the Empress of the world. The ruins of the Capitol, the solid and extensive public roads, and the monuments erected upon them to departed heroes; the Coliseum, which would contain vast multitudes in its capacious circuit; the Pantheon, perfect in its symmetry;

> "Amid the domes of modern hands
> How simply, how severely great!"

the Arch of Titus, rich with triumphs; the Column of Trajan, inscribed with the fairest forms of sculpture, may yet fill the astonished eye, and recal the great exploits of the past. The classical traveller will be diligently employed in tracing the remains of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Pæstum, lately rescued from obscurity; and he will inspect with the greatest pleasure the numerous antiques deposited by the taste of the king of Naples in the Museum at Portici. Even where the lapse of time, and the ravages of barbarians, have almost entirely effaced the monuments of Roman grandeur, and places scarcely retain more than their names, he will explore with enthusiastic ardour the spots once distinguished by the splendid villas of Cicero and Adrian, and honoured with the tomb of Virgil, and while he surveys

> "The wide waste of all devouring years
> Where Rome her own sad sepulchre appears,"

he will not fail to indulge those melancholy yet edifying reflections, which are associated with sensibility and with virtue, upon the instability of human affairs, the insignificance of worldly grandeur, and the revolutions of empires, in conformity to the disposal of divine Providence.

Nor will he overlook the modern specimens of architecture, scattered with profusion over Italy. He will survey the marble palaces of Genoa; the squares, fountains, obelisks, and palaces of Rome; and more than all, the sublime church of St. Peter, rearing its majestic dome above all the surrounding edifices. Struck with this unparalleled monument of magnificent art, he will confess that the genius of Michael Angelo was alone capable of producing such a subject of perpetual admiration*.

In the places most distinguished by the productions of the great artists he will examine the finest specimens of sculpture. The gallery of the Grand Duke at Florence presents to his view numerous specimens of marble shaped into the most expressive and lively forms. The *Hercules* of the Farnese palace, the just image of strength united with activity, resting after the performance of some difficult exploit, displays his gigantic proportions, and sinewy limbs. The tragedy of *Niobe* and her daughters is represented in marble, and every figure which composes the interesting group expresses exquisite emotions of terrour and grief. In the palace of the Louvre may now be seen among no less than 208 inestimable specimens of ancient art, a head of *Jupiter* brought from the Museum of the Capitol, in which the awful and placid majesty of the sovereign ruler of Gods and men accords with the descriptions of Homer. The *Mercury*, of parian marble, is remarkable for the easy inclination of the head, the mildness of expression, and the fine and vigorous turn of the limbs. Such is its perfect harmony of execution, that Poussin, the great painter, esteemed it the best model for the proportions of the human figure. The *Laocoon* of the Belvidere, discovered among the ruins of the palace of Titus, expresses in the figures of the Father and his two Sons the utmost violence of painful emotions. In vain they struggle against the attacks of the monstrous serpents which twine around them in spiral folds. The wretched Laocoon, with head upraised to utter the cries of despair, is expiring in the same agonies from which he has vainly attempted to rescue his dying children. But what language, what eloquence can do justice to the *Apollo of the*

* The length of St. Peter's at Rome, on the outside, is 730 feet; breadth 520. Height from the pavement to the top of the cross, which crowns the cupola, 450 feet. The grand portico before the entrance is 216 feet long; 40 broad. The length of St. Paul's Church in London, is 500 feet; breadth of the cross aisles, from north to south, 248; height to the top of the cross, 356 feet.

Belvidere! For three centuries since first found among the ruins of Antium has he stood the admiration of all beholders. Such is the beauty of his features, his grace of attitude, and the sublime mixture of agility and vigour, as to exceed all comparison with the fairest forms of individual nature. This collection will probably be soon farther enriched with that most perfect production of art, the *Venus de Medicis*, of which no model can convey an adequate image. This figure that *enchants the world*, gently bends her delicate form in the most graceful and modest attitude; beauty breathes its captivating animation into every limb, and the enraptured eye glides over the whole statue with unceasing delight and admiration.

The cabinets of the medalists call for his attention. There he traces the reigns of monarchs through successive ages, and sees the images of heroes, statesmen, and beauties, whose various actions were the interesting subjects of his previous studies, in the collections of the Grand Duke at Florence, and in the national library at Paris. The gold and brass medals of the latter exhibit the elegance of Grecian and Roman art. He will be struck with the youthful beauty of Alexander the Great, the stern aspect of Galba, the martial steadiness of Vespasian, the crowned head of Zenobia, and the lovely profile of Faustina. He sees the emblematical figures corresponding with the reigning mythology of ancient times; Abundance pouring forth mixed fruits from her horn; Victory waving her wings; and Honour encircled with a laurel crown. He fails not to notice the illustration which a series of medals afford to ancient manners, poetry, and history*.

The traveller qualifies himself for a constant source of entertainment by his fondness for the productions of the pencil. After having formed his judgment, by inspecting the best collections of which his own country can boast, he visits with delight the choice cabinets abroad, and tastes that refined pleasure which the incomparable productions of the best masters are alone capable of affording. The grand gallery of the Louvre enriched with the plunder of churches and palaces, will afford an ample field for the indulgence of his curiosity, as it contains nearly a thousand of the choicest productions of the Italian and Flemish schools. Upon all

* See Addison's Discourse on Medals, and Spanheim's very learned work, from which later writers have borrowed some of their best remarks.

these occasions he will examine whether the artist has given to the marble, the gem, the brass, and the canvass, a just representation of nature, passion, and beauty; and will be more attentive to general effect than to minute accuracy.

He will delight likewise to view the stores of literary productions, collected in public and private libraries: for there the wisdom, the science, the arts, and discoveries of successive ages, conveyed in the languages of all nations, are combined, and brought under one point of view. To him the Vatican and national Library of France will unfold their numerous treasures: there he may satisfy his curiosity, by inspecting the most ancient and curious manuscripts of the classic authors, the earliest and the most beautiful specimens of typography, and the choicest modern editions.

The *present* state of literature and of the arts will likewise call for his attention. He will examine how far a nation has risen above, or is fallen below its former condition; and in what respect it excels, or is inferior to others. He will inquire into the principal sources of its wealth and prosperity; for this purpose he must procure access to the statesman, the merchant, and the agriculturist, and from their reports derive just and accurate information. He will collect from their conversation the state of commerce and agriculture; and how far these sources of prosperity exceed in perfection and in extent those of his own country. He will also ascertain what are the particular religious and political establishments, the prevailing amusements,* remarkable customs, and what is their combined and general effect upon the sentiments, manners, prosperity, and happiness of the people.

"In your travels these documents I will give you, not as mine, but his (the accomplished Sir Philip Sidney's) prac-

* "In studying the character of a people, one inquiry should always be, what were their *amusements?* We here get hold of great features, which often unriddle the rest. This is indispensably necessary, where states have risen to cultivation. In the finer traces of the temperate regions of the earth you meet amusements that are elegant, and pleasures that are refined. Departing on either hand to the south, or to the north, you find taste to degenerate, and gratification to become impure. At length arriving at the extremities, refinement is utterly lost; to give pleasure is to stupify, or to intoxicate, here by opium, there by brandy and tobacco. The happy intermediate regions enjoy the *yvresse du sentiment.* Is the philosopher to set at nought these distinctions? Is he to lay no stress upon the different state of the arts? Is he to imagine it imports not that the peasant in Muscovy subsists on garlic, and solaces himself with ardent spirits; and in Italy that he feeds on a water-melon, and goes forth with the guitar on his back to the plough?" Robertson's Inquiry into the fine arts, p. 187.

tices. Seek the knowledge of the estate of every prince, court, and city, that you pass through. Address yourself to the company to learn this of the elder sort, and yet neglect not the younger. By the one you shall gather learning, wisdom, and knowledge; by the other, acquaintance, languages, and exercise. This he effectually observed, with great gain of understanding." Sir Henry Sidney's Letters.

The traveller will moreover embrace every opportunity of enlarging his knowledge of the world, or in other words, he will turn his knowledge of himself to the greastest use, by ascertaining how far the image of others is reflected by his own disposition, propensities, and passions. His constant intercourse with society will afford the most favourable means for the exercise of acuteness and discernment. He will not confine his observations to the exterior forms and superficial habits of society; but will endeavour to investigate the latent dispositions and characters of his associates: he will conclude that men, like books, are not to be valued for their outward appearance, or splendid dress, but for their intrinsic excellence. He will look through national peculiarities; he will piece the veil of local customs, and endeavour to view mankind, as they really are, influenced by their general passions and dispositions. He will esteem those with whom he converses, rather for their moral worth than their intellectual powers; for their personal merit rather than their exalted rank, or dignity of station.

To every object he will not fail to direct such a degree of attention as is proportionate to its importance and utility. Whatever he thinks deserving his notice he will survey with an attentive eye; and the information he is eager to gain will be equally marked by its correctness and its extent. Convinced of the inestimable value of time, he will never be prodigal of the small portions of which it consists. He will be expeditious both in his movements and his remarks, but will not be precipitate in either. Ardent in his inquiries, but not frivolous or trifling, he will explore whatever is curious in nature or art with assiduity and diligence. In every place he will reap an intellectual harvest of its various productions, convey it to his own country, and make it the subject of pleasing recollection for the future years of his life, and the means of entertainment to his friends; and should he make any observations, which upon mature deliberation he may judge of sufficient importance, he will publish them for the general information of the world.

Thus the intelligent traveller will not fail to derive every advantage from his visit to foreign countries. On his return to his native shores his manners will be refined, but not formal; his dress fashionable, but not foppish; his deportment easy, but not negligent. Instead of importing the trifling fopperies of other countries, and displaying showy and superficial acquirements, as the substitutes for solid information and elegant accomplishments; and instead of endeavouring to excite the applause and admiration of the ignorant, by his exaggerated descriptions of distant places, and of his own extraordinary adventures, he will rather avoid every ostentatious display, as unworthy of his character and his sacred regard for truth.* His constitution, unbroken by vicious indulgence of any kind, will be invigorated by exercise, and his fortune will be unimpaired by extravagance. Scepticism will not undermine, nor bigotry contract, his religious principles. His prejudices in favour of his own country will rather be strengthened than worn away by extensive comparison, and enlarged intercourse with mankind; and his general knowledge will be augmented through every pure and original channel of information. His philanthropy will be ardent, and his patriotism not less spirited than rational. His various acquirements and his engaging manners will render him not only the delight of his friends, but the ornament of his country.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROFESSIONS.

THE topics which have been considered in the preceding chapters present a sufficient choice of interesting subjects of application to a student, who is desirous that the

* The traveller, especially if he has visited countries not commonly explored, would do well, both in his conversation and writings, to follow these remarks. "I have endeavoured to maintain the spirit with which I conducted my researches into facts; that is, an impartial love of truth. I have restrained myself from indulging any sallies of the imagination, though I am no stranger to the power of such illusion over the generality of readers: but I am of opinion that travels belong to the department of *history*, and not that of *romance*. I have not therefore described countries as more beautiful than they appeared to me; I have not represented their inhabitants more virtuous, nor more wicked, than I found them." Volney's Travels, preface, p. vi.

lights of useful knowledge may irradiate his mind from various points.

Should his fortune be sufficiently ample to exempt him from the necessity of following a profession, he will have more leisure to pursue his classical and philosophical studies. Having improved his relish for useful reading by requisite application, he will not be compelled to have recourse to rural diversions, or insipid amusements, merely because he is ignorant of any other method to employ his leisure hours. He may enlarge his acquaintance with instructive books, and derive a pure and exalted pleasure from his general reading. In his intercourse with the world he will soon be convinced that his attainments give him great advantages over the vulgar and illiterate, that they qualify him to take comprehensive views of what is passing around him, and that they put him in possession of many *particular facts*, many *useful observations*, and many *general principles*, which may be applied with the best effect to his various concerns. In every stage of life he will experience the great advantage and satisfaction, which flow from an understanding refined by taste, cultivated by learning, and elevated by religion.

But the elementary parts of learning are most important, when considered as the groundwork of the professions. Few of these parts indeed can be said to be entirely unconnected with them; and there are none which do not communicate some important truth, annex some pleasing appendage, or supply some elegant ornament to improve, adorn, and complete the professional character. And it is the exercise of a *profession* which will enable a young man to render his attainments immediately instrumental to the good and happiness of others, as well as of himself.

If such be the advantages resulting from application to classical learning and philosophy, of what high importance is it to the student, to explore with circumspection, and cultivate with diligence, the extensive and pleasant field of general knowledge, previous to pursuing the more confined path of professional research!

As preparatory studies are advantageously combined with professional pursuits, so may they impart great assistance to each other. The physician renders himself more extensively useful in the course of his practice by some knowledge of the laws of his country, and the clergyman by his acquaintance both with medicine and law*. And the occupation

* Gisborne's Duties, vol. ii, p. 131. Percival's Medical Jurisprudence, p. 44. Blackstone's Comment. vol. i, p. 13.

both of the physician and the barrister must ever, in the opinion of all well-disposed persons, be rendered more respectable by a uniform attention to the duties of religion.

In regard to the professions in general, it cannot surely admit of a question, whether the man, who perfectly understands the principles of his profession, and the branches of knowledge immediately connected with it, and who properly applies his various information, has not the greatest advantage over him, who, although possessed of superior abilities, has neglected the cultivation of his mind. Splendid talents are indeed the peculiar gifts of nature, and cannot be acquired by the greatest efforts of application, or procured by the most profound and extensive learning. But by the assistance of application and of learning alone splendid talents will be carried to their proper degree of improvement. And without them it is a fact warranted by experience, that the most brilliant parts will be of little use either to the possessor or the public.

I. THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW.

This profession is highly useful to the public, and may prove no less honourable than advantageous to the student, who conscientiously follows it. If he aspires to eminence at the bar, he ought to be blessed with a firm constitution, to enable him to discharge the duties and support the fatigues of his profession with ease and pleasure. His memory should be quick and retentive, his judgment clear and acute, his understanding sound and comprehensive, his religious principles firm, his moral character pure, his disposition benevolent, and his ardour for distinction not liable to be damped by difficulties, but in every stage of his career strong and unabating*.

When he considers the dignity and the importance of the study, in which he is engaging, in all its relations to general good, he will be deeply impressed with the profound sentiments expressed by the venerable Hooker, particularly in the following eloquent passage: "Of law there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God, her

* The character which Cicero has given of Hortensius, and the description of his own early studies, furnish excellent illustrations of this part of my subject. See Cicero de Claris Orat. sect. 301, 306, &c. Ed. Proust.

voice the harmony of the world, all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power, both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy." Ecclesiastical Polity, b. i, ad finem.

By contemplating the character and perusing the works of the most eminent orators he will perceive to what an elevation the honour of the profession has been advanced; and, not to recur to the trite instances of ancient times, the examples furnished by a Lord Mansfield, a Sir William Jones, and a Lord Eldon, may be sufficient to stimulate his diligence, rouse his emulation, and show him what a degree of dignity, emolument, and fame may be reached by the united powers of talents and application, in a pursuit, which, above all others, is propitious to their exertions.

Of the great utililty of his *early* studies he will be fully convinced, when he considers their connexion with the business of his profession. His acquaintance with general history will furnish him with a copious stock of examples, from which he may draw useful arguments, and reason by fair analogy. The detail of events, and the descriptions of the state of manners, in different periods of our history, will serve as the best comments upon our laws, and will materially conduce to his understanding them fully, and explaining them with correctness.

He will be sensible how well calculated his logical and mathematical knowledge was, not only to furnish his mind with early nutriment, but with food adapted to his riper years. He will recognize their assistance in forming clear ideas, arranging them in due order, reasoning upon just principles, and deducing right conclusions. He will perceive that the mode which logic teaches is applicable to practice, that it enables him to strip the sophistry of antagonists of its disguise, and to detect the artifices of corrupt and fraudulent witnesses. His classical pursuits, and the literary productions of his own and other countries, will give compass, variety, and elevation to his thoughts, and elegance and copiousness to his language. They will supply illustrations to every subject of discussion, present various and pleasing images to his fancy, and diffuse an air of polish and correctness around all his forensic efforts.

"If therefore the student in our laws hath formed both his sentiments and style by perusal and imitation of the

purest classical writers, among whom the historians and orators will best deserve his regard; if he can reason with precision, and separate argument from fallacy, by the clear simple rules of pure unsophisticated logic; if he can fix his attention, and steadily pursue truth through any the most intricate deduction by the use of mathematical demonstrations; if he has enlarged his conceptions of nature and art by a view of the several branches of genuine experimental philosophy; if he has impressed on his mind the sound maxims of the law of nature, the best and most authentic foundation of human laws; if, lastly, he has contemplated those maxims, reduced to a practical system in the laws of imperial Rome; if he has done this, or *any part of it*, a student thus qualified may enter upon the study of the law with incredible advantage and reputation. And if at the conclusion, or during the acquisition of these accomplishments, he will afford himself in the university a year or two's further leisure, to lay the foundation of his future labours in a solid, scientifical method, without thirsting too early to attend that practice, which it is impossible he should rightly comprehend, he will afterwards proceed with the greatest ease, and will unfold the most intricate points with an intuitive rapidity and clearness."*

The necessity of close application will be evident, when he considers the multiplicity of our laws, arising from the numerous rights of individuals, the various kinds of property, and the depredations to which it is exposed. He will feel his obligations to that learned and judicious commentator, who facilitates his progress and guides his steps through the intricate labyrinth of jurisprudence: and as the excellent work of BLACKSTONE, in which are so happily combined the principles of our municipal constitution with their origin and history, formed the basis of his elementary studies, so will it greatly assist him in the more advanced stages of his profession.

He will observe the proper application of laws to particular cases by attending the courts of justice; by this practice, steadily pursued, he will be enabled to collect a stock of valuable precedents for his own use. He will exercise his acuteness in unravelling the intricate circumstances of a case, and in separating truth from the mass of

* Blackstone's Introduction to his Comment. p. 32. Every young man will do well to peruse this excellent Introduction with attention, as it so clearly points out the *general* utility of an acquaintance with the laws of the land.

error and misrepresentation with which it is frequently surrounded.

When he comes forward to plead at the bar, he will display accurate information, aided by the powers of unaffected eloquence. He will be sensible of the charms of a graceful delivery, and of manly and appropriate action. Ever careful not to deviate from the subject in question, he will not injure his cause by tiresome prolixity, by too great an attention to minute circumstances, or an ostentatious display of knowledge.

In the course of private life he will endeavour to guard against those foibles, to which his profession may expose him. His manners will not be overbearing, his conversation will not take too deep a tincture from his mode of life and habits of study; and he will remember that the circle of domestic society is not the theatre for the exhibition of those *argumentative* talents, which are only displayed with propriety in the discharge of his professional business.

By the pursuit of such a line of conduct as is uniformly marked by uncorrupted integrity, true benevolence, and assiduous attention, the barrister will go forward with honour to himself, advantage to the public, and credit to his profession. Should he gain admittance into a higher sphere of eloquence, and serve his country as a member of congress, he will be sensible of the difference which subsists between the two situations, with respect to the persons whom he is to address, the subjects of discussion, the mode of conducting his arguments, and the forms of debate. He will therefore lay aside, when he comes forward as a member of congress, his technical language, and ingenious casuistry, and will determine the merits of a question upon broad and general principles, with reference to its true nature and real importance.

If his distinguished merit should point him out as a proper person to fill one of the executive departments of government, he will indulge with caution his honourable ambition, and consider well the motives which ought to influence him in declining, accepting, or resigning the station proposed, and not act under the influence of selfishness or vanity, at the expence of his conscience or his judgment. In accepting a high office he will be happy that the circle of his usefulness is enlarged, and that his opportunities are more frequent of displaying his talents in the noblest of all services, the service of his country.

By the bar are furnished those able and learned persons

who are selected to preside upon the bench of judges. The prospect of such an honour may operate as an additional incitement to the application of the barrister. But let him reflect that the integrity, diligence, and knowledge of him who aspires to this exalted station, are required to be pre-eminent. The welfare, good order, and due regulation of all ranks of the community are intimately connected with, or more properly may be said principally to depend upon, the qualifications of him who sustains one of the most important characters in the state, as the interpreter of the laws, the punisher of vice, the guardian of innocence, and the dispenser of justice.*

II. THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

The profession of a physician has in all ages and countries been held in great estimation, by reason of its intimate connexion with the welfare of mankind. The cure of diseases, the restoration of health, and the continuance of life, are the objects to which the attention of the physician is directed: and he cannot fulfil his important duties, without possessing requisite knowledge, and exercising a due degree of judgment and sagacity. Destitute of the aids which books, lectures, and observations afford, he can never acquire the principles of physic, understand the structure of the human frame, develope the causes and the seats of disorders, and become acquainted with proper remedies to remove them.

He will apply not only to the public lectures, delivered by eminent professors in anatomy, chemistry, and the materia medica, but will examine with accuracy the various cases presented to observation by patients in the hospitals. There he will observe the different modes in which those unhappy objects are treated, who labour under different diseases, as well as those, who are afflicted by various degrees of the same disorder. And he will remark with attention, and note with accuracy, the opinions given, and the particular observations made by the clinical lecturer.

A hospital opens the most extensive and useful field of observation to the medical student. It is the school in

* For a full account of the duties and qualifications of a lawyer I recommend a very valuable book titled Letters on the Study and Practice of the Law, 8vo. Editor.

which he may learn the most instructive lessons, and train himself for his general practice. He may there follow every complaint through its various stages, and contemplate all the maladies of suffering man. There he may remark various experiments tried, new combinations of medicines formed, and new ingredients introduced into the materia medica. Giving way to feelings of humanity, he may learn to appreciate the life and the health of the poorer members of the community at their due value, and consider the importance of restoring them in perfect health to their families and their country.

"By thus frequenting the hospital he will see every moment some point illustrated, some doctrine confirmed, or some rule of practice established; at the same time almost every occurrence will serve to deepen the impression of those ideas, which it has been the endeavour of his teachers to imprint on his mind. He ought not to lose the least opportunity of acquiring clinical instruction. Clinical lectures are to the practice of medicine what dissection is to anatomy—it is demonstration. By them disease is as it were embodied and brought before the student, as a subject for his leisure examination. By them the tutor is enabled to illustrate the nature of diseases; to teach their various differences by actual comparison of those which approximate in appearance, and to impress their several characters upon the mind of his pupil; to make him mark their growth and declension, to call on him to compare the ideas he has formed of disease with disease actually in existence, to render him conversant with the use of medicines, and with their various effects. He who engages in practice without this species of instruction must be supposed to know disease only by description; and when the fallacious appearances and variable forms which they assume are considered, it is to be apprehended that consequences too unpleasant to dwell on must succeed.*"

Medical men have been justly celebrated for their learning and abilities. To adduce no other proofs, many of the orations pronounced at the College of Physicians in London are as remarkable for purity of style as for solidity and ingenuity of observation.

The effects of medicine upon the human body are sometimes explicable upon mechanical, and sometimes upon chemical principles: an accurate and enlarged knowledge there-

* Parkinson's Hospital Pupil, p. 53, 56, &c.

fore of mechanics, chemistry, and physiology appears necessary for a physician, in order that he may understand the appearances of the animal economy, both in its sound and morbid state, and likewise explain the operation of remedies.

The science of botany is likewise useful, so far as it facilitates the knowledge of plants, by reducing them into the most commodious system; and although it is not necessary for a physician to be acquainted with the name and history of every plant he may meet with; yet he ought not to be ignorant of any material circumstance relative to vegetables, either used in diet, or as medicines. The remarks respecting botany are equally applicable to every other branch of natural philosophy, and more particularly to the researches of comparative anatomy and general physiology. Gregory, p. 67, 75.

So much anxiety has been upon some occasions expressed to vindicate physicians from the imputation of infidelity and a disregard to religion, that it looks as if this charge was not entirely destitute of foundation. Perhaps their candour and moderation with respect to the different sects of christians may have been ascribed by the narrow minded to wrong motives; and those physicians who were in reality sincere believers, offended by the groundless imputations of scepticism and infidelity, have expressed themselves in an unguarded manner, and thus have given their enemies a pretext for raising a clamour against them. For the honour of the profession it must be observed that some of its greatest ornaments, Harvey, Sydenham, Arbuthnot, Meade, Boerhaave, Stahl, Haller, and Hoffman, have been distinguished by their piety and firm belief in christianity.

As the knowledge of diseases, their causes, symptoms, tendencies, and effects, constitutes the most important and difficult parts of professional study, the observations, which have been made by the most able and experienced physicians will claim the peculiar care of the student. He will read with close attention the curious dissertations of Stahl, the works of Boerhaave, Hoffman, Sydenham, and Helmont, and thus will be furnished with lights to guide his inexperience, which are not accessible to the unlearned empiric.

To complete the ground work of his professional studies and observations he may repair to those places which are most celebrated for medical pursuits. But it seems to be a received opinion that London, from the skill and celebrity of the faculty who read lectures there, will render it unne-

cessary to visit other places. If he has sufficient leisure to extend the sphere of his observation he may visit Edinburgh, and those cities upon the continent most celebrated for medical pursuits and establishments. He may thus free his mind from too great predilection to particular theories, and local modes of practice. He will survey the cultivation of those branches of the art, which are imperfectly, or perhaps not at all regarded in some particular places. And thus he will collect a useful store of observations for the direction of his future practice.

He will not commence his medical career before his observations have taken an extensive range, his reading is well digested, and his judgment is mature. *Too great eagerness to begin his practice* may prove injurious to his reputation, and the source of his own future regret. Nothing seems so well calculated to establish his character as care and attention to his patients of whatever condition. A tender solicitude for their welfare, diligence and punctuality in visiting them, and the exertion of his best abilities for their recovery, will not fail to obtain their reward. Who has it so much in his power to make the sick man his warm and constant friend as the physician? If he be distinguished by mild and amiable manners a patient feels his approach like that of a guardian angel, who comes to relieve his sorrows and remove his pains; while every visit from one who is of a harsh and unfeeling temper, depresses his spirits, and may increase instead of diminishing his malady. True sympathy will produce attention to many little circumstances, which contribute much to the relief of the patient; an attention which is above all price, and which, while it convinces the sick man of the goodness of his physicians heart, increases his regard for him, and raises the respectability of his profession. By diligent and careful exertions he will acquire the power of rendering the most important services to the public. He may very considerably extend his sphere of usefulness by superintending medical institutions, attending hospitals and dispensaries, and more especially by devoting certain portions of his time to the relief of the poor. To them his advice will prove of inestimable value; and his generosity in this respect will be repaid no less by their gratitude and the public approbation, than by the applause of his own heart.

The good physician will recommend himself to general patronage, regard, and esteem, by his skill, his benevolent disposition, and decorous deportment. In his treatment of

the various diseases which come under his care, he will diligently attend to the different constitutions and different habits of life of his patients; he will follow nature with the closest attention through all her changes; he will watch every symptom, by which he can discover her tendencies and disposition, and will skilfully adapt his medicines to those symptoms, as they appear. He will recruit the exhausted powers of the constitution, strengthen the springs of life, and give them fresh energy and vigour. Should he fail in his attempts, his want of success will be the fault of the art, and not of the practitioner.

In his common intercourse with the world, he will be distinguished by his general knowledge, and his pleasing and easy manner of communicating it. His attainments in literature and science will furnish him with the means of agreeable relaxation from his severer studies, and the fatigues of his profession.

To his patients he will be punctual and benevolent, and yet never be induced so far to sacrifice the principles of his duty to their humour, caprice, or timidity, as to relax in his recommendation of whatever he is convinced will conduce to their relief. Gregory, p. 182. To his competitors he will be liberal and candid; he will not indulge the asperity of opposition, nor the meanness of envy; and he will trust for emolument and reputation, not to petty artifice or indirect practices, but to the solid recommendation of a good character. He will indulge his benevolent feelings as a man, and conform to his principles of duty as a christian, by relieving the maladies of the poor: but he will never attempt to gain the patronage of the rich by unworthy services, or degrading concessions. In his general conduct he will prove, in the most extended acceptation of the word, the friend of mankind. He will show a becoming degree of condescension and affability to all, and will render the exercise of his profession equally the means of general good and of his own particular advantage and reputation. He will be convinced that these points cannot be secured by a narrow and selfish disposition, by a peculiar formality of dress and manners, or affected airs of importance and mystery. The true dignity of the profession can only be maintained by the superior knowledge and abilities of those who follow it, by their liberal manners and conduct, and by openness and candour, which disdain all duplicity and artifice, all superciliousness and servility, and which require only to be known, to make their possessors the general objects of esteem, re-

spect, and honour. For those qualities which do credit to the medical character it is superfluous to have recourse to more particular description, as they can be fully exemplified in the lives of Radcliffe, Frend, Mead, Arbuthnot, Fothergill and many others, who hold a distinguished place among the sons of Esculapius, and adorn the biography of their country.

III. THE CLERICAL PROFESSION.

Of all the professions there is no one which includes such important duties as that of a clergyman. It is the immediate object of his labours to diminish the evils and increase the comforts of life, by inculcating the knowledge and recommending the practice of religion, and by preparing the minds of men for the happiness of a future life. As it is his duty to state and interpret the revealed will of God, to reclaim the vicious from their sinful conduct, comfort the afflicted in their distress, and confirm the good in the pursuit of virtue, it is not difficult to infer what ought to be his attainments and qualifications, and what his character and conduct.

Lamenting the levity and the indifference of some, who enter into Holy Orders, without considering the importance and respectability of their sacred office; reprobating the selfishness and the wickedness of others who merely make it the road to wealth and luxurious indulgence; we will consider the case of a young man who is induced *by proper motives* to undertake the pastoral care, and who directs his studies and regulates his conduct in such a manner, as is consistent with a becoming and rational sense of duty. He begins with considering the divine appointment of his profession, its serious nature, and its most important end. He observes the considerable portion of time and industry, which is devoted to the other professions, to the attainment of the elegant arts, and even to the most common occupations, in order to acquire a due proficiency; and therefore he concludes that a proportionable degree of application is necessary for his own, which justly claims the ascendency over them all*.

* "Si agnoscis dignitatem, da operam ut glorifices susceptam functionem; si difficultatem, abjice socordiam, & vigila; si periculum in-

Equally removed from indifference on the one hand, and enthusiasm on the other, he embraces his profession from a deliberate preference, and full persuasion that it will afford him more frequent opportunities than he could find in any other situation of life, to increase the glory of God, and advance the good of mankind. He is resolved to discharge his duties with zeal and diligence proportioned to their importance, and therefore cherishes such dispositions of mind as are best calculated to promote the great designs of his profession. He feels the most exalted and heart-felt satisfaction in performing all the offices of piety, and resolves to give, in every instance of his conduct, to his public and private instructions, the effectual recommendation of a good example.

At the commencement of his theological studies he will retrace the grounds upon which he has erected his belief in the fundamental truths of Christianity. He will review the principles of natural religion, and consider the arguments for the being, attributes, and providence of the great Creator and Governor of the world. He will peruse the scriptures of the Old Testament, and will remark the intimate connexion which subsists between its leading circumstances, such as the fall of man, the types and institutions of the Mosaic Law, and the regular succession of prophecies, with the great scheme of redemption developed in the New. He will review the external and internal evidences of Christianity, and examine all the proofs in such a manner as not only to be fully convinced himself of the truth of revelation, but so as to be furnished with such stores of information, and to acquire by study and meditation such ease in

telligis, cave ne declines ad dextram, sive ad sinistram: si præmium consideras, ne te pigeat ullius difficultatis. Quocumque verteris oculos, est quod excitet sollicitudinem tuam; si sursum aspicias, vides quis sit, qui tibi munus istud delegavit, vides paratum stipendium; si circumspicias quæ te circumstant, vides oves Christi tuæ concreditas fidei; si in te ipsum descendas, agnoscis quantam animi puritatem, *quantam eruditionem*, quantam prudentiam, quantum caritatis ardorem, quantam fortitudinem exigat ista functio, qua vel abstineas, si te cognoveris *parum instructum, vel ea pares quibus est opus.*". Erasmi Ecclesiastes, lib. 1. I know of no book better calculated to give a candidate for orders just and elevated ideas of his intended profession; to inspire him with a fervent, yet temperate zeal in the exercise of it; or that can supply better rules for the composition of his discourses, than the *Ecclesiastes* of Erasmus, from which this excellent passage is borrowed. The whole subject, expressed in easy and elegant Latin, is treated with great spirit. It is much to be regretted, that Erasmus was prevented by bad health from finishing this excellent work, in a manner agreeable to his wishes.

the application of them, as to be ready upon all proper occasions, to oppose the cavils of the sceptic, the infidel, and the sectarist, by giving, in compliance with the advice of the inspired apostle, "an answer to every man that asketh him a reason of the hope that is in him." 1 Peter iii, 15.

Unless his belief be founded upon *conviction*, and be the result of his own careful examination, is he not liable to be lulled into a criminal indifference, shaken by the assaults of false philosophy, or deluded by the visions of enthusiasm? In the situations in which he may be placed, in company with the infidel, the sceptic, or the scoffer, or with Christians of various denominations, he will possess none of the requisite stores of knowledge, by the assistance of which he may discover the artifice or the ignorance of his opponent, and render his attacks ineffectual; he may be silenced, may be disconcerted, and may expose himself and his profession to disgrace and ridicule, unless he be firmly grounded in all the important points of Christian knowledge.

The studies of his riper years will derive peculiar advantage from the progress he had previously made in polite literature and the sciences. By his knowledge of the Greek language he will be enabled to read the New Testament in the original with ease and pleasure. Thus will he be well versed in that book, which is the sacred repository of the words and actions of the Redeemer of mankind; the unerring guide of life, and the pure source of all his instructions. He will peruse it with a critical view to the particular style of each Evangelist, the idiomatic and foreign forms of expression, and the particular allusions to ancient manners and customs. He will be careful to compare one passage with another, and thus will illustrate the general meaning of the sacred writers. He will call to his assistance the works of skilful commentators and critics, to enable him to see clearly the application of every parable and illustration, to explain difficult terms, and to follow to its full extent the chain and connexion of argument. "Let him carry on his researches with a pious, humble, teachable, and impartial spirit, guarding against preconceived opinions hastily adopted, against bigotry for particular systems, blind prepossessions in favour of a particular interpreter, and the prejudices of habit, of his place of education, or study of his relations and friends, and of his expected patrons. To earnest prayer for the superintending guidance of the Supreme Being let him join his own assi-

duous exertions, and follow the path of truth, whithersoever it may lead him." Gisborne, vol. ii, p. 11.

From his previous attention to logic and the elements of the sciences he will reap an advantage similar to that which is enjoyed by a student in the law. They will instruct him in the methods of clear and conclusive reasoning, and in following arguments by regular steps to the discovery of the truth for which he searches. He will however consider the particular species of evidence which belongs to divine revelation, and will carefully mark the difference between history which depends upon *testimony*, and science which is built upon *demonstration*. He will be careful not to confound the different modes of investigating truth, nor will he indulge a fondness for inquiry into metaphysical refinements, or subjects of abstruse speculation, which have no tendency to promote piety, or advance the interests of morality. Far from indulging in a cavilling disposition he will be fully satisfied with those plain, direct, and positive evidences of revelation, which carried conviction to the minds of a Newton, a Barrow, a Pearson, a Clarke, and a Paley.

The historical part of his studies will open a wide field to his observation. He will make himself well acquainted with the events and actions recorded in the Old and New Testaments, will trace the resemblance subsisting between the traditions and mythology of the Pagan world, and the details of the sacred narrative of Moses; he will illustrate his researches by reference to those authors who have investigated the subject of Jewish and Christian antiquities. He will apply the principles of sacred criticism to the external evidences of scripture, examine the particular age of the author of each book, the purity of the text, and the condition and value of the most approved manuscripts; and thus will ascertain the authenticity of all those writings which compose the canon of the Old and New Testaments*.

The perusal of *sermons* will be found to merit considerable attention. By their assistance the student will with ease increase his stock of theological knowledge, gain the explanation of many difficult passages of scripture, and see subjects discussed with peculiar ability, and placed in various points of view. And surely no less satisfaction than improvement will result from his application to those discourses, which display the rich eloquence of Barrow, the simple energy of Tillotson, the solid sense of Sharpe,

* For useful remarks on preparatory studies, see Erasmi Ecclesiastes, lib. ii.

the animated descriptions of Sherlock, the perspicuity and close argument of Clarke and Powel, the pregnant brevity of Ogden, the precision of Secker, and the beautiful imagery of Seed and Tottie.

Such writers will improve his ideas of theological criticism, and render him important service, when he proceeds to the composition of sermons. They will assist his conceptions of his subject, and give exactness and arrangement to his thoughts. They will set before him a variety of arguments, expressions, and illustrations, and furnish numerous hints, which he may apply to his own immediate purpose.

When he proceeds to *the composition of sermons*, he will reap the advantage of his previous attention to the beauties of language. He will then be sensible of the benefits arising from the perusal of works of criticism, and the cultivation of a pure taste.

The style of a young divine must depend upon the condition of his hearers; if they be of the common class, let him imitate the manner of Wilson and Burder: if they are of a superior rank, Atterbury and Sherlock may be proposed as excellent models of composition. His arguments ought to be concisely stated and clearly expressed, his divisions few, and his discourses directed rather to the reason than the passions of his audience. He may be allowed sometimes to indulge in figurative ornaments, as they will give light, elegance, and spirit to his sermons. Pompous phrases, learned quotations, and remote allusions ought carefully to be avoided, as they injure the unity and simplicity of a discourse, and are more calculated to place the writer in an ostentatious point of view, than to familiarize his subject, or edify his hearers.

The perusal of the sermons of others ought rather to stimulate industry than encourage idleness. In appropriating them to his own use he will show his judgment by selecting the best topics, and adapting them to the situations and circumstances, errors, doubts, prejudices, vices, and spiritual wants of his own congregation. He will be sensible however that the assistance he borrows from others is weak in comparison with what he derives from his own mind; and that the instruction which flows from his own heart, his own reflections and observations, will not fail to make the deepest impression upon his hearers, which is the great and important end of the labours of the pulpit. Another encouragement to composition arises from considering

that by practice the difficulty of writing will be gradually lessened, and that the writer will in time be no less surprised than pleased by discovering how much in a few years his later sermons surpass his first attempts.*

With respect to the mode of delivering a sermon, it may be observed, that the advice of a judicious friend, as to the management of the voice, and the propriety of gesture, will be of much more use than volumes of instructions. These can no more lead to perfection than studying the most exact theory of music can enable a reader to play well upon an instrument, to which end application and practice can alone conduce. In like manner a good delivery must be the effect of repeated trials. Precepts may improve the judgment, but will give little aid to the power of performance; they may form critics, but cannot make speakers.†

The principal fault attributed to the divines of the church of England is, that they are remarkable for a cold and inanimate mode of delivery. This circumstance points out the advantages, which formerly arose from the custom of preaching without the assistance of a written sermon. The preacher then gave way to the current of his own thoughts, and expressing himself as in animated conversation, transfused, without any diminution of their heat and strength, his own sentiments into the breasts of his hearers.

Impressive as this practice certainly was, yet it may be remarked, that the present mode of delivering sermons has peculiar advantages. Sermons by the help of reflection are more correctly composed, with reasoning more just, instructions more judicious, points of faith and doctrine more fully and truly explained, and what is of great importance, with more regularity and method. As the divine of the church of England is by custom confined to one method, he should study to improve it as much as he can. As that extemporary discourse, which approaches the nearest to a written sermon in regularity of composition, and purity of style, is the best; in like manner among the written sermons, that is undoubtedly most excellent, which is composed with the easy air, and pronounced with the unaffected warmth and fluency of the extemporary.

Nothing is so impressive, or tends so much to the attainment of excellence, as the sight and the contemplation of

* Read an excellent letter written by Dr. Johnson to the son of a friend on taking orders. Seward's Biograph. vol. ii, p. 602.

† Lawson's Lectures on Oratory, p. 411, &c. This author merits the particular attention of every young clergyman.

living example. It is much to be lamented that we have no *public school of eloquence for the instruction of young divines*, in that species of delivery which is necessary to give pathos, dignity, devoutness, and spirit, to their mode of performing the various services of the church—in the reading desk, the pulpit, at the baptismal font, and the altar. Until such an institution be established, we must refer to those, whose practice requires only to be generally known to be highly admired, and zealously followed. Happy are they who have an opportunity to be edified in the performance of the sacred services, by the emphatic correctness of a PORTEUS, the solemn tones and impressive dignity of a PARR, and the devout, judicious, and unaffected elocution of a MALTBY. Were the public duties of piety thus generally performed throughout the nation, is it not probable that the crowds, which now fill the conventicles of sectarists, would resort with eagerness to their respective churches; and, attracted by the manner of celebrating the service, would enjoy the additional advantages of solid and truly edifying instruction?

Should the young divine be resolved to make the greatest improvement of his time, he will discover that the occupations and the active duties even of a parish priest are not incompatible with his studies. He will accordingly remain contented with those attainments, which enabled him to obtain Holy Orders. He will devote a considerable share of his leisure to add to the stock of his learning, and make his application no less a matter of inclination than of duty. "Literature, and sacred literature in particular, is requisite to a clergyman, not only as it is necessary to the edifying discharge of his pastoral duties, but as it forms and shows the turn of his mind, influences and implies his habits of life, fills up his time, makes him happy at home, detains him from pursuits improper in kind, or excessive in degree, or keeps his mind in a due tone for every work of his ministry. *In every view it is a vital part of his character.*" Dr. Napleton's Advice, p. 84.

As the opinions of mankind have varied in all ages respecting the interpretation of the truths of revelation, he will observe that controversial writings form a considerable part of theological studies. He will therefore take a general view of the most remarkable controversies in their chronological order, and trace their origin, progress, and effects. He will remark that in the earliest ages of the church the apologists were obliged to defend the faith against the bigot-

ry of the Jews, and the idolatry of the Heathens; that at the Reformation the protestant contended with the superstitious advocates for popery, and that in the present age a divine must resort to the ancient weapons of orthodoxy, to oppose the advances of heretics, who corrupt, and of infidels, who deride the faith. He will therefore furnish himself with those arguments which may be opposed with the best effect against the errors of his own times. While however he is prepared "earnestly to contend for the faith," and is never regardless of his solemn engagements, to maintain the "good fight," he will remember that the weapons of his warfare are spiritual, that it is his duty to promote his cause by tempering his zeal with candour, by opposing moderation to violence, and charity to malice; and that all rancour, prejudice, and personality, ought to be banished from discussions, which have the glory of God and the establishment of truth for their momentous objects.

And mindful of the sacred promise which he made during the ceremony of ordination, he will be diligent in reading the holy Scriptures, and the lives of eminent and pious men; and thus he will cherish a devout frame and temper of mind, and increase his relish for spiritual pleasures. His studies will assist and give vigour to his professional occupations; they will draw off his mind from the levity, folly, and selfishness of the world, and make him regard with proper indifference the occupations which consume the irrevocable hours of the idle and dissipated. They will keep in his view the bright examples of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and of his divine Master himself. They will confirm his faith, increase his zeal, and encourage him to run the race of duty with unremitting activity and perseverance, whether he obtains the dignity of a Prelate, acquires the competency of Rector or Vicar; or even continues through life in the humble yet useful sphere of a country curate*.

To the call of active duty he will be ever attentive. Anxious to prove the efficacy of his holy religion at a time when suffering humanity asks most earnestly for his aid, he will

* "Apud Deum major est dignitas ejus qui quamvis pusillam & humilem gregem bona fide curat, quam qui gemmatis coronis, pedis aureis, reliquoque strepitu sese venditant. Audi igitur pastor exigui rusticanique pagi, agnosce dignitatem tuam, non ut intumescas, sed ne muneris tui gloriam rerum humiliorum admixtu contamines. Non refert quam numerosus aut splendidus grex tibi obvenerit, sed illud refert, ut pro sorte credita Domino fœneratori tutum adferas. Nec tam spectato quid commissum sit, quam qui commiserit." Erasm. Eccles lib. 1.

not avoid, or rather he will be anxious to visit the bed of sickness. He will endeavour to compose the anguish of mind and the perturbation of spirits, during the dreadful visitations of disease, and the pains of expiring nature. He will express, from deep conviction of the divine energy of his holy faith, the language of consolation, and speak peace to the troubled soul. He will convince the sufferer of the necessity of a Redeemer, and display the blessings of his gracious promises: he will endeavour to raise his mind above the sorrows of the world, and fix his attention upon those sublime and permanent enjoyments which lie beyond the grave, and are centered in a blissful immortality. Thus will he support the true dignity of that religion, which can best instruct mankind to bear pain and sickness with fortitude, and to resign their souls to death with composure, and even with gladness.

A *pious*, *learned*, and *diligent* divine is one of the strongest supports and brightest ornaments of his country. In his general intercourse with mankind, while he maintains his dignity, he is free from formality or moroseness; enjoys society, but avoids its dissipation and its follies, and knows the value of time too well to sacrifice any very considerable share of it to mere amusement. To those who differ from him in religious opinions he shows firmness of principle without asperity of conduct, as he is ever mild, gentle, and tolerant. He warms the hearts of his flock, by his fervent and unaffected piety, and enlightens their understandings, confirms their faith, and invigorates their practice by his judicious and impressive discourses. In his private admonitions he is diligent in giving advice, and delicate in his manner of doing it; always considering whether the means he employs of reconciling animosities and reproving vice, are best calculated to answer the proposed ends. He maintains a proper intercourse with all classes of his parishioners, but is neither arrogant to the poor, nor servile to the rich. To the indigent and deserving he is a constant friend, and protects them from the oppression of their superiors; he relieves their wants as far as it is in his power, and reconciles them to their laborious and humble stations by the most earnest exhortations to patience and contentment. He is the composer of strife, and the soother of outrageous passions, and no less the temporal than the spiritual ministers of peace. His family is the model for all others in their attention to private and public duties; he is the general object of esteem to all, except the malignant and the envious; and he

has the happiness to observe that, as he advances in life, the respectability of his character gives additional efficacy to his instructions, and both increases the honour and promotes the diffusion of his holy religion.

"The imagined presence of a wise and good man has been recommended as a convenient guard to private conduct. How would this thought or action appear to Socrates, or Plato, or Aristides? The parochial minister may with equal advantage suppose the ocular inspection of his spiritual Overseer, and anticipate with greater feeling his censure, or his approbation. If the fear of solitude, or vanity, or idleness, should draw him from the scene of his duty to the provincial town, to the camp, or the capital, he may seem to hear the voice of his elder brother—*With whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?* The reproach may possibly vibrate in his ear, till it rise to the expostulation of a higher Friend and Monitor—*Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?* Happy is the clergyman who, under the impulse of all these motives, discharges with unabated diligence, the sacred, useful, honourable office of a parish priest; and blessed is the congregation who receiveth and heareth him with a grateful and attentive mind." Dr. Napleton's Consecration Sermon, p. 107.

The day will come when the Son of God himself, the great Teacher of Christianity, will appear to judge the world in righteousness. His minister, who has thus been *an example in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity, who hath taken heed unto himself and all his flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer*, may then meet his congregation in pious hope that his labours, through the mercy of an all gracious Redeemer, will be accepted; and what tongue can describe, what imagination can conceive the ecstatic transports of him, who, *because he has turned many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars of heaven for ever and ever*, and shall be welcomed to the realms of eternal glory with these gracious expressions of acceptance, "WELL DONE, GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT; ENTER THOU INTO THE JOY OF THY LORD?" 1 Tim. iv, 12. Dan. xiii, 3. Matt. xxv, 21.

THE CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

THUS have I endeavoured to execute my proposed design, by sketching the outlines of general knowledge, and opening the various prospects of Religion, Learning, Science, and Taste to the young and studious reader; and in the discussion of every subject I have omitted no fair opportunity *of endeavouring to strengthen the ties of genuine patriotism, and to increase his zeal for the service of true religion.* My plan would however be incomplete, were I to conclude this work without subjoining a few considerations, which will be stated with more freedom, and urged with greater earnestness, because they have not been sufficiently insisted upon by the numerous writers upon these subjects, although I am sensible, from long experience and attentive observation, that they are of the *highest* importance.

To all who feel a proper regard for the dearest interests of society, *education* must appear to be a subject of the most serious concern, as it has the most powerful influence in forming the character, inculcating the principles, and promoting the happiness of the rising generation. And such are the *peculiar circumstances* of the *present times*, and the numerous and unprecedented dangers to which young men are now exposed, that it can hardly be questioned, whether there was ever a period in our history, when *greater docility*, and *obedience* were necessary *on their part; greater circumspection* on the part of *their parents;* or *greater diligence*, aided by all the advantages of learning and experience, on the part of *their instructors.*

Writers of eminence and respectability, who were remarkable for their accurate observations upon the conduct of mankind, have drawn very gloomy pictures of the depraved manners of the last century. Berkely, the celebrated bishop of Cloyne, and Hartley, the ingenious author of the Observations on Man, did not hesitate to attribute much of this national degeneracy to neglect in the conduct of education, particularly among the higher ranks of society. But had these writers lived in the present times, can it be seriously asked, whether they would have found no additional subjects for their complaints? or rather would they not have apprehended that greater and more alarming dangers than those which impended over their contemporarie would arise from the prevalence of evils now existing?

uch conjectures are confirmed by those authors who e recently remarked the various and considerable nges, which have taken place in the opinions and the con-t of their contemporaries*. "In consequence of the tide wealth, which our extensive commerce has caused to flow o this country, the luxury and dissipation of the higher lers of society have reached an unprecedented height; ile the public opinion of high birth and hereditary honours s sunk far below their former estimation. The rage for pub- amusements, and for crowded assemblies of persons of shion, who meet for no purpose but to destroy time, and courage the selfishness of gaming, has gone far to extin-uish their domestic pleasures, and to banish rational and efined conversation. The distinctions formerly preserved mong the different ranks, which were once reputed the reat preservatives of decorum and order, are now neglected s unnecessary, and ridiculed as formal. The doctrines of liberty and equality are not confined to speculators on government, or political declaimers alone, but are introduced into common habits of thinking, and general modes of acting: among other mischiefs to which they have given rise, they have increased the self-sufficiency of young men, encouraged the indulgence of their passions, flattered their vanity, led them to regard government of every kind as tyranny, religion as superstition, and the laws and regulations of all former ages as incompatible with the rights of their nature, and unworthy of the dignity of their understandings. The general reverence for the experience of age and for the privileges of authority is greatly diminished, and this change of opinion and laxity of principle are observed to be in no instances more conspicuous than in the relaxation of parental authority, the indulgence of the appetites and inclinations of the young, and the confident manners, and sometimes the open disobedience of children to their parents."

Such are the most striking characteristics attributed to the present times; and whether the description be allowed to be precisely accurate, or only partly just, it is our earnest desire, as well as our urgent duty, even supposing that a relaxation of principle, an immoderate pursuit of pleasure, and an impatience of authority and restraint have not yet pervaded any considerable part of the community, to sound the alarm of approaching danger, and to point out the best

* See Mrs. H. More on Female Education; Bowdler's Reform or Ruin; Bowles's Reflections on the State of Society; Mrs. West's Letters to a young Man; and Dr. Barrow on Education.

means of counteracting such enemies to our present peace and future happiness.

Awakened therefore by apprehensions of mischief so threatening to the morals of the young, unless vigorous measures are adopted to prevent it, and prompted by no motive, except that which the love of my country inspires, let me be allowed to address my final exhortation upon this momentous subject to those to whose especial service my present labours are devoted. Let me calmly remonstrate with such as have already imbibed the principles of the *new philosophy*, but have not drank enough of its pernicious draughts to be wholly intoxicated; and let me caution those whose lips are yet pure and unsullied by its taste, before remonstrance may be fruitless, and all caution vain; and let me earnestly entreat them all, if they have any due regard for their own comfort, respectability, and happiness, to listen to that sound and salutary advice, which will not only diminish the labour of their teachers, but augment the pleasures of knowledge, and give due efficacy and success to the *established* modes of education.

The great objects more immediately requisite for young men to attend to are, PIETY TO GOD—OBEDIENCE TO PARENTS—THE IMPROVEMENT OF TIME—the DILIGENT PURSUIT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STUDIES—and an IMITATION OF THE VIRTUOUS AND HONOURABLE CONDUCT OF THEIR ANCESTORS—such will prove the best and the most effectual preservatives against the reigning evils of the times, the vices of libertinism, the sin of infidelity, and the folly of innovation.

I. Let me recal your attention to the first and the most important part of my work, and conjure you, my young reader, by the most affecting considerations which can influence the mind of man—by your reverential awe of your great Creator—by the regard you owe to your immortal soul—by your solemn professions as a christian—by your ardent desire of comfort in this world, and of happiness in the next, to adhere with inflexible firmness to your religious engagements. Prove your belief in the truths of Christianity, the evidences of which you have examined, and to the rewards of which you aspire, as the most sublime objects of all human ambition, by your conformity to the institutions of the established religion of your country. Keep alive the holy flame of fervent and unaffected piety by the practice of *private*, as well as *public* devotion; and never let the sun begin his daily course without recommending your

self and your friends to the protection of the great Author of your being, the Giver of every blessing you can hope to enjoy. Be devout without ostentation, and religious without hypocrisy. Remember that devotional exercises are recommended by the concurrent voices of all nations, that they are particularly enjoined by the precepts of our holy religion, as the most effectual means to maintain that spiritual intercourse between man and his Maker, which is the highest privilege of rational beings. Recollect that prayer is a preservative against the allurements of sin, and the snares of temptation; that most acceptable in the sight of God is the sacrifice made by innocence; and that "the remembrance of your Creator in the days of your youth," conducive as it is to the support of faith, and the performance of duty, will prove a source of the most elevated hope and the purest joy, throughout every period, and amid every trial of your life.

II. FILIAL PIETY is the prime affection of the soul, and one of the most sacred and important of all social relations. It is the voice of nature, sanctioned by the authority of reason and revelation, and derived from the best and purest feelings of the heart. Consider that its violation was always regarded, by the wisest and most enlightened people, as the most flagrant breach of morality, and therefore was punished with the severest rigour. Reason fully justifies the principle upon which the laws of the Jews, the Romans, and the Chinese, against refractory and undutiful children were founded: for filial disobedience is a sure mark of that insensibility, as well as of that ingratitude and injustice, which have a direct tendency to a violation of order and the commission of crimes. Filial love, on the contrary, is the certain indication of such an amiable temper, as will display itself with uniform benevolence in all relations, in which hereafter as a man you will stand to society. It is the root of the most endearing charities; its branches are vigorous, and will bear the most precious and the most delicious fruit. There is the best reason to presume that an affectionate son will become an affectionate brother, friend, husband, and father. When arrived at the age of mature reason you will be sensible that the restraints formerly laid upon you by your parents were the effects of true regard, intended to shield you from evil, not to debar you from good, to guard you from danger, not to contract the circle of your pleasures, for the sake of asserting authority, or displaying power. Let, therefore, no foolish vanity, no levity or caprice of temper, no arrogance, arising from su-

perior fortune, or the consciousness of superior or more fashionable accomplishments, so far possess your mind, and blind your understanding, as to induce you to treat your parents with inattention or disrespect. Always remember that your duty to them is inferior only to that which binds you to the great Author of your being; and that neither the implicit submission of childhood, nor the return of affectionate offices in more advanced age, can ever cancel your obligations for a *father's protection*, or repay the solicitudes of a *mother's tenderness*.

In the practice of filial obedience attend more particularly to *one* instance of it, which seems to be highly reasonable, and strictly expedient. I allude to the *choice* of a *profession*. Your parents have an undoubted right to decide for you; and their experience and knowledge of the world may be fairly presumed to lead them to such a determination as is most proper and advantageous upon the whole. Be not influenced in a concern so highly conducive to the happiness of your life, by a predilection, founded upon your own caprice, or the taste of your companions, when the decision ought to be made with reference to your peculiar temper, circumstances, and abilities, of which you, from your tender age and inexperience, must necessarily be an incompetent judge. When you mix with the world you will behold the unhappy effects of persons having been brought up to employments, for which neither nature nor education have fitted them; you will remark instances of professional men, who are neither diligent, studious, nor serious, and and who have no *professional* zeal, and are therefore constantly liable to the ridicule of their friends and the censures of the public, by acting out of character. Should you be admitted to their confidence, you will hear them lament that they were the victims of their own choice, or of some consideration, which had no reference to their abilities, or their dispositions. You may observe that, as the pursuits of life are various, a sphere of action may be found suitable to each particular turn of mind. To the bold and the enterprising the army and navy present opportunities of exertion; to the serious and contemplative the church; to the acute and aspiring the law; and to the diligent and persevering the various occupations of the merchant. Let not your pride, or your vanity, be suffered to take the alarm, and create prejudices against any situation which is advantageous and respectable. Judge not by specious appearances, but attend to all the benefits it may secure to you in the

course of your life, and the rewards which it may bestow upon your care and assiduity. When you have once been directed to make a judicious choice, let no caprice induce you to repent of your option, no unsteadiness relax your diligence; persevere with constancy in the path to which experienced guides have conducted you; and be assured that steady and unremitting exertions will be rewarded by adequate success.

As the mild suggestions of parental advice gradually succeed the controul of that authority which was adapted to your weaker years, improve the intimate connexion by unremitting assiduity, and unreserved confidence; and qualify yourself to be the most agreeable associate of your parents. And if, as they sink under the weight of years, you derive a pleasure from alleviating their pains, and soothing infirmities, the tie which will bind you to each other's hearts, will be love inexpressible, formed from the first emotions of your sensibility, and strengthened by length of time, and the constant reciprocity of affectionate offices.

III. Reflect that time pursues his flight on rapid wings, and that the hours of youth, like the waters of an impetuous stream, roll on never to return. You must be sensible that the portion of life appropriated to your education is not, if duly considered, a season for pleasure and pastime alone; that the days will come, when you will have no leisure from the engagements of the world to increase your stock of knowledge by study, and to improve by regular application those talents which Providence has committed to your care, for the use of which you are accountable to conscience, to society, and to Heaven; from the abuse and neglect of which will spring sad regret and unavailing sorrow; but from the cultivation of which will arise the delights of a self applauding mind, and the respect and honour of the virtuous and the wise.

Do you enjoy the distinguished privilege of being a *member* of one of the *Universities?* Whether your destination has led you to the abodes of learning and science, which adorn the banks of the Isis, or the Cam, in whatever academical rank you may be placed, fail not to improve every opportunity, and to seek every means of acquiring knowledge, afforded by tutors and professors; cultivate the acquaintance of the learned, the accomplished, the serious, and well disposed; disregard the solicitations of the idle, and resist the allurements of the dissipated, the intemperate, and the irregular, who may urge you to drain

the bowl of intoxication, and transgress the bounds of discipline. Look to the *result* of their misconduct, and you will remark that, far from affording any true pleasure to an ingenuous mind, it terminates in disgrace, punishment, and ruin. Frequently meditate upon the actions, and familiarise yourself to the works of the great and the good, who have inhabited the same mansions of learning, trodden the same paths, and experienced the pleasures of solitude, or social converse, in the same delightful gardens and groves. Let the classic scenes once honoured by a MILTON and a DRYDEN, a PEARSON and a TILLOTSON, a NEWTON or a CLARKE, a LOCKE or a CLARENDON, an ADDISON or a JOHNSON, a BLACKSTONE or a JONES, give additional strength to your resolutions, animate your endeavours with new ardour, and inspire you with greater alacrity in the pursuit of every study, and the cultivation of every moral and intellectual excellence*.

IV. Consider that no habit is so conducive to the accomplishment of the great ends of education, as a habit of *diligence*. Idleness is the parent of every vice; but well directed activity is the source of every laudable pursuit, and honourable attainment. It is peculiarly adapted to the frame and constitution of youth, promotes good humour, and is conducive to health. Indolence and inactivity are no less subversive of every purpose of mental improvement, than of the general happiness of life. An idle boy will gradually lose the energy of his mind, will grow indifferent to the common objects of pursuit, except such as stimulate his passions with force; and when he advances into life, he will with difficulty be prevailed upon to make any important exertion, even for the promotion of his own interest, and much less for that of his friends. The character of a sluggard—of him, who loses the pleasant, the healthy, and the precious hours of the morning in sleep, and the remaining part of the day in indolence, is justly reputed contemptible. While his powers of mind remain torpid, the diligent applies his activity to the most useful ends. His steps may not be uniformly rapid, or his actions always conspicuous; he may not attract the gaze of mankind, or move in the

* Movemur nescio quo pacto ipsis locis, in quibus eorum quos diligimus aut admiramur adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsæ illæ ATHENAE NOSTRAE non tam operibus magnificis, exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare solitus sit, studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplor. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2.

circle of fashionable levity and dissipation; but you may observe that by habitual dexterity of conduct, and the practice of business, he is qualified to meet the difficulties, and fulfil the duties of any situation, in which he may be placed; and you will frequently see him by his unremitting perseverance acquire objects of fortune, distinction, and honour, which men of unimproved talents very rarely, if ever obtain*.

"Excellence is never granted to man, but as the reward of labour. It argues indeed no small strength of mind to persevere in habits of industry without the pleasure of perceiving those advances, which like the hand of a clock, whilst they make hourly approaches to their point, yet proceed so slowly as to escape observation." Sir J. Reynolds.

If you take an extensive survey of the world, you may remark that nothing great or laudable, nothing splendid or permanent, can be effected without the exertion of diligence. Are not the treasures of fortune, the fruits of industry, the acquirements of learning, and the monuments of glory to be referred to its animating influence? Behold the student engaged in poring over the volumes of knowledge by his midnight lamp, and stealing his hours of study even from the season of repose; behold the peasant roused by the dawn of the morning to pursue his daily toils along the furrowed field; repair to the manufactory of the artificer, and amid the various divisions of labour, observe with what alacrity all the sons and daughters of industry are plying their incessant tasks; or visit the crowded haven, where the favourable gales call the attention of the vigilant mariners; and you will remark that the whole scene is life, motion and exertion. In these various situations, in every nation of the globe, from the ardent and enterprizing sons of Britain, to the almost countless myriads which people the wide plains of China, you may observe that the principle of diligence, like the great law of creation which causes the planets to perform their invariable revolutions, pervades

* "The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men who can render a reason. He who has no inclination to learn more, will be very apt to think that he knows enough. Nor is it wonderful that he should pride himself in the abundance of his wisdom, with whom every wavering thought, every half formed imagination passes for a fixed and substantial truth. Obstinacy also, which makes him unable to discover his mistakes, makes him believe himself unable to commit them." Dr. Powell's Discourse 1. The patient mule which travels slowly night and day, will in the end go farther than the Arabian courser. Persian Proverb.

each busy scene, and throughout the world actuates the race of men for some useful purpose.

V. Finally, never wearied in exploring the means by which your mind may be directed to its proper end, and your ardour for excelling in every thing fair and good may be increased, turn, frequently turn to the memorable pages of our English history, and consider with due attention THE ILLUSTRIOUS CHARACTERS AND LAUDABLE CONDUCT OF YOUR ANCESTORS. You will find that they were men, favoured by nature with masculine sense and profound judgment, not eager for innovation, but as deliberate in forming as prompt to execute their designs. After long oppression under the papal yoke they vindicated the rights of reason and conscience, became the strenuous supporters of the Protestant faith, and the advocates for a mild and generous toleration. They framed a system of government, the glory of which is limited and hereditary monarchy; and they founded it upon the basis of equal law. To their wise resolutions in council, and to their invincible courage in the field, we owe the blessings of our invaluable constitution. They were remarkable for plainness and simplicity of manners, honouring inbred worth, and raising merit from the humblest station to the most exalted sphere; and yet rendering proper homage to noble birth and high rank. They preserved the due distinctions between the various orders of society, and were sensible of the utility of a just and regular subordination. Behold the monuments of their regard for piety and learning in the churches, colleges, and schools, which overspread the land; and consider the ample provision which they made for the perpetuity of the blessings derivable from Christianity and useful knowledge. They were lovers of their country to an enthusiastic degree, and prodigal of their blood in its defence; they were economical, generous, and hospitable; in no respect inferior to the most distinguished people of antiquity—the illustrious natives of Greece and Rome; and in some circumstances rising to a greater elevation of moral and intellectual dignity, for they acted under the influence of a more temperate and more widely-extended liberty; and they were enlightened by the knowledge of a beneficent, holy, and sublime religion.

To advert to the conduct of those who were distinguished in former times by their merit, has always been considered an excellent and efficacious mode to rouse mankind from the lethargy of indolence to the labours of virtue. To wha

nce can I appeal than to the spirited description nosthenes gave of Aristides, Miltiades, and the eeks of their age, to rouse his countrymen to emu- lation. Olynth. T. p. 98, v. 1. Edit. Allen. We shall do well to recollect how strongly the influence of education was felt in reforming the manner of the Spartans. The great Lycurgus, by his prudent institutions, converted a luxurious and a dissipated people into a temperate and a martial community. And so long as the Romans adhered to their ancient maxims, they pursued their career of victory and glory. But to what more powerful cause than to the relaxation of pristine discipline, and the profligate manners of their noble youth, can we attribute the fall of their mighty empire?*

What therefore was the *principle* which raised the celebrated nations of old to such a pitch of honour, dominion, and renown? Was it the spirit of restless innovation, and avidity for political novelties? Was it not rather a system of laws adapted to the genius of the people, well established by authority, and long persisted in, without deviation from the original plan of each respective constitution? Was it not the peculiar genius of their wise establishment, inspiring the minds of their youths with noble sentiments from age to age, and directing their conduct through successive generations to all that was fair and good? This spirit reigned among the Persians, the brave and virtuous companions of the elder Cyrus, and imparted its choicest influence to the Greeks and Romans of the purest times. And is it not, we may confidently ask, a SIMILAR, or rather a SUPERIOR SPIRIT, which has raised Great Britain to the glorious pre-eminence, which she has obtained among modern nations? Has it not fostered the valour of her heroes, the wisdom of her philosophers, the sagacity of her statesmen, and the skill of her artists?

The great and extensive advantages which must necessarily accrue to society at large, from the proper education of persons in the higher ranks of life, will appear from considering the *influence of their examples upon all around them.* If ignorance should be suffered to cloud their understandings, and immorality, resulting from a want of pro-

* A more powerful cause than this may be assigned for the fall of the Roman empire. When the hardy, strong, and courageous people of Gaul, Germany, and Scandinavia had learned the discipline of the Romans and obtained arms, they were an overmatch for them in the field f battle. Editor.

per discipline, should disgrace their conduct, the injury done to society will extend to all its members. But if persons in the higher ranks be well instructed in their duty, and their conduct prove the rectitude of their principles, the beneficial effects of their actions, like the overflowing waters of a fertilizing stream, will spread far and wide in every direction, and the final result to the state will be highly important and eminently beneficial, as it will consist in general stability of principles, general regularity of conduct, and general happiness.

The rising generation, brought up in the true principles of religion, enlightened by general knowledge, and encouraged not less by the examples, than improved by the advice of their parents and their teachers, will be freed from the imputation of degeneracy; they will follow their ancestors in the paths of integrity, honour, and true nobleness of conduct; they will be fortified against the attacks and the artifices of infidelity, and will persevere, as they advance in life, in every virtuous and honourable pursuit.

And may this indispensable and invaluable truth be for ever inculcated by parents and teachers, with a degree of solicitude and zeal proportioned to the importance of the subject, and for ever remembered by the young, *that the honour of the* BRITISH CHARACTER, *and the stability of the* BRITISH CONSTITUTION, *must depend upon Religion, Virtue, and Knowledge, as their firmest and best supports.* In the higher ranks of society, and more particularly among PROFESSIONAL men, it is more immediately requisite that these constituents of personal merit should be carried to the greatest perfection. Every sincere lover of his country therefore, will be eager to promote, by all expedients in his power, that RATIONAL, ENLIGHTENED, and COMPREHENSIVE system of education, which improves and perfects all of them; and he will determine that every channel to useful information ought to be opened, every suitable reward proposed, and every honourable incitement held out, which may stimulate our ingenuous youth to IMPROVE TO THE UTMOST OF THEIR POWER THE FACULTIES WITH WHICH PROVIDENCE HAS BLESSED THEM, IN ORDER THAT THE SEEDS OF INSTRUCTION MAY PRODUCE THE MOST COPIOUS HARVEST OF VIRTUE, AND THEIR CONSCIENTIOUS AND ABLE DISCHARGE OF ALL THE DUTIES OF LIFE MAY CONTRIBUTE EQUALLY TO THE HAPPINESS OF THEMSELVES AND THEIR FRIENDS, AND TO THE GENERAL PROSPERITY AND TRUE GLORY OF THEIR COUNTRY.

SUPPLEMENT TO CLASS II.

CHAPTER II. VOL. I.

ON THE PROPRIETY OF LEARNING OUR OWN LANGUAGE AS AN INTRODUCTION TO FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

THE want of a grammatical knowledge of our own language will not be effectually supplied by any other advantages whatsoever. Much practice in the polite world, and a general acquaintance with the best authors, are good helps, but alone will hardly be sufficient. We have writers who have enjoyed these advantages in their full extent, and yet cannot be recommended as models of an accurate style. Much less then will what is commonly called *learning* serve the purpose; that is, a critical knowledge of ancient languages, and much reading of ancient authors. The greatest critic and most able grammarian of the last age, when he came to apply his learning and his criticism to an English author, was frequently at a loss in matters of ordinary use and common construction in his own vernacular idiom. A good foundation in the general principles of grammar is in the first place necessary to all those who are initiated in a learned education; and to all others likewise who shall have occasion to learn modern languages. Universal grammar cannot be taught abstractedly: it must be taught with reference to some language already known, in which the terms are to be explained, and the rules exemplified. The learner is supposed to be unacquainted with all but his native tongue; and in what other can you, consistently with reason and common sense, explain it to him? When he has a competent knowledge of the main principles of grammar in general, exemplified in his own language, he then will apply himself with great advantage to the study of any other. To enter at once upon the science of grammar and the study of a foreign language, is to encounter two difficulties together, each of which would be much lessened by being taken separately and in its proper order. For these plain reasons a competent grammatical knowledge of our own language is the true foundation upon which all literature, properly so called, ought to be raised. If this method were adopted in our schools; if children were first taught the common principles of grammar, by some short

and clear system of English grammar, which happily by its simplicity and facility is perhaps fitter than that of any other language for such a purpose; they would have some notion of what they were going about, when they should enter into the Latin grammar; and would hardly be engaged so many years as they now are, in that most irksome and difficult part of literature, with much labour of the memory, and with so little assistance of the understanding.

Whatever the advantages or defects of the English language be, as it is our own language, it deserves a high degree of our study and attention, both with regard to the choice of words which we employ, and with regard to the syntax, or the arrangement of those words in a sentence. We know how much the Greeks and the Romans, in their most polished and flourishing times, cultivated their own tongues. We know how much study both the French and Italians have bestowed upon theirs. Whatever knowledge may be acquired by the study of other languages, it can never be communicated with advantage except by such as can write and speak their own language well. Let the matter of an author be ever so good and useful, his compositions will always suffer in the public esteem, if his expression be deficient in purity and propriety. At the same time, the attainment of a correct and elegant style is an object which demands application and labour. If any imagine that they can catch it merely by the ear, or acquire it by a slight perusal of some of our good authors, they will find themselves much disappointed. The many errors, even in point of grammar, the many offences against purity of language, which are committed by writers who are far from being contemptible, demonstrate, that a careful study of the language is previously requisite, in all who aim at writing it properly.

These observations appear to determine conclusively the subject which we have been discussing. They will suffice therefore to prove that the application of a child to a dead language, before he is acquainted with his own, is a lamentable waste of time, and highly detrimental to the improvement of his mind. It was the neglect of the cultivation of our own tongue which excited the reproach of M. Voltaire.

The general principles of grammar are common to all languages; a noun is the same in English, French, Latin, Greek, &c. The varieties of languages are easily acquired by observation and practice, when a preliminary knowledge

of our own grammar is obtained. But the comprehension of our native tongue is not the only good preparative for the study of other languages. Some previous acquaintance with the general nature of things is necessary to the accomplishment of this end, in order that our literary progress may be obstructed merely by words. For, although it be useful to leave some difficulties in the way of a child, that he may exercise his mind in overcoming them, yet he must not be disgusted by too many or too great impediments. Our whole attention should consist in proportioning the difficulties to his powers, and in offering them to his consideration individually. If Latin were made the primary object of a child's lessons, he would lose a vast portion of time in the study of grammar; he would be incapable of perceiving the beauties of that language, because he would not have acquired any previous knowledge. No benefit therefore could possibly accrue from reading, in the Latin tongue, subjects which he could not understand in his own. But by becoming well acquainted with our best poets and prose writers he will easily learn, independently of the number of ideas which he will gain thereby, the general rules of grammar; several examples will unfold them, and a proper application of others may be soon made without difficulty. Besides, he will acquire taste and judgment, and be well prepared to feel the beauties of a foreign tongue, when he begins to feel the beauties of his own. His knowledge being also extended and diversified, it will be found that the sole difficulty attendant on the study of Latin consists in learning words: so that to obtain a just knowledge of things, he must apply himself to such Latin authors only as are within the reach of his capacity, and whose writings he can comprehend with the same facility as if they were written in his native language. By this plan he will easily acquire the Latin tongue, treasure up fresh knowledge as he advances, and experience no disgust in the study of it. Nothing can be more useless than to fatigue a child, by filling his memory with the rules of a language which he does not yet understand. For, of what advantage is the knowledge of all its rules, if he be unable to apply them? We should wait therefore till reading has gradually enlightened his mind, and then the task becomes less irksome to him. When he has studied his own language, we should anticipate the principal differences between the Latin and English syntax. His surprize in perceiving an unexpected difference will excite his curiosity, and effectually remove all distaste. After

this and not before, we may devote a part of each day to Latin; but it ought never to be the principal object of his studies.

Such is the outline of this plan of education, which has nature for it basis, and reason for its superstructure; but such a plan, it must be granted, is not to be found in any of our seminaries of learning. Their system inverts knowledge; this proposes to make it orderly and progressive. Theirs is founded on precedent and long established usage; this is recommended by its obvious utility and economy of time.

THE END.